

# Maclean's

## THE COCAINE KING

HOW A POOR  
COLOMBIAN BECAME  
CANADA'S BIGGEST  
DRUG BARON  
—AND GOT AWAY



COCAINE DEALER  
BERNARDO ARCILA



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## Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE  
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### CONTENTS

- 3 EDITORIAL
- 4 LETTERS
- 6 OPENING NOTES/PASSAGES
- 11 COLUMN: DIANE FRANCIS
- 12 CANADA  
Four Montreal policemen are convicted of brutality, a report reveals abuse of native children, Ottawa tackles return of old age pensions
- 18 WORLD  
U.S. economic policies threaten to produce years of austerity; Barry Yellin squares off against his critics
- 22 BUSINESS  
American cross-border shoppers drive up the price of used cars in Canada, United flights to survive
- 24 THE BOTTOM LINE: DÉBORAH McMURDT
- 27 THE NATION'S BUSINESS: PETER C. NEWMAN
- 28 COVER
- 30 HEALTH  
Brazilian drugs give epilepsy sufferers new hope, Canadian researchers find a genetic clue to Alzheimer's disease
- 34 SPORTS
- 40 PEOPLE
- 42 BOOKS  
Two American authors spin tales of troubled times, a Toronto scholar builds on Marshall McLuhan's legacy, an exposé of the modeling business
- 46 THEATRE  
The Atlantic Theatre Festival takes centre stage, Ontario's Shaw Festival gears up for Noel Coward's Canada
- 50 FILMS  
The Apollo 13 saga reaches the big screen, Seattle spins drama without pyrotechnics
- 51 MUSIC  
Quebec's Céline Dioning does the classical world
- 52 POTTERINGHAM

PHOTOGRAPHY: (clockwise from top left) David Laundy/Photo Bank; (top right) David Laundy/Photo Bank; (bottom left) David Laundy/Photo Bank; (bottom right) David Laundy/Photo Bank

## THE COCAINE KING

28 Bernardo Arce came to Canada in 1972 as a poor immigrant from Colombia—and went back in 1988 an extremely wealthy man. By that point, he had become Canada's biggest drug trafficker. A *Maclean's* investigation reveals how he got away just ahead of the law, and how he continues to send cocaine here from his luxurious base in Colombia.

## Ending the secrecy

12 Full details of the plot-bargain deal that Karl Horvath reached with Crown attorneys became public for the first time during the sensational double-murder trial of her former husband, Paul Bernardo



## Canada's hoop dreams

38 Fans of the two new National Basketball Association franchises got something to cheer about when the Toronto and Vancouver teams finally acquired some players. But the inaugural season for both squads could be delayed because basketball—following in the steps of baseball and hockey—is wracked by labor strife





# LETTERS

## Pride on trial

For months now, Canadians have been waiting for Paul Bernardo to come to trial, not necessarily to hear all the gruesome details but, after the O. J. Simpson trial, to take pride in the Canadian laws we live by. Well, Karl's *Weekend* has turned our pride into shame ("The *Weekend* saga," Cover, June 26). This admitted killer sits in her segregated cell and says that life is going to be just what she gets out. That's as early as July, 1997—four years for being involved in killing three people. Canada law better? It just ain't so.

Michelle Avery,  
Sault Ste. Marie, Ont.

I find your magazine is giving a much too detailed and explicit report on the Bernardo murder trial. It is very upsetting and disgusting to see an alleged murderer made a celebrity by the media. Where is the justice for the victims?

Nadeia Moosik,  
Custer Lake, Sault

I tend to disagree with the people who do not wish such gruesome stories to be written on newspapers/magazines. Articles like this make people aware of some of the sick people in our society. Maybe if Leslie Milne and Kenneth French had been convicted all this while, they might not have been hard into a car, no matter how nice the drivers appeared to be.

Penelope del Rio,  
Toronto

I once understood why all Canadians are born fed at the alleged actions of Paul Bernardo. Now, the most meaningful thing that can be done for the victims and their families is to ensure that justice is done. What I can't understand is why all Canadians are being bewitched that there are almost 300 suspects in our country. Many are criminals in our country, as outlined in the 1986 report of the Deschênes commission. The only difference between these and Bernardo is that they are needed many more than he may have. Surely, it is time for Canada to take action.

Morris C. Serrano,  
Vancouver

I am told by an older generation of Ontarians that some 60 years ago, the police would have put the fear of God into men like "Gregory," who stalked young women like Barbara Wilkins ("The theft," last res-



Bernardo and Milne awaiting to see a murderer turned into a celebrity

ources for years." Cover, June 26). The 1990s, however, are not the 1950s, and law-enforcement agencies have weapons such as the submachine gun. The cops are now on your police forces and law courts to effectively enforce these laws and punish offenders.

Mart Tjervel,  
Ottawa, Ont.

## Blue admirals

I was moved by your descriptions of the historical events that have centred on Halifax ("The last best place," Special Report, June 18), until I read "The red-coated admirals." British admirals, blue-coated admirals, navy-blue admirals—anything but red-coated, please.

Peter H. Stoler,  
Newport, Ont.

## Advocacy defence

Your mention of the Ontario Advocates contained errors ("Mike the lands," Cover, June 26). Our mandate is not to promote "the rights of young people" but to provide advocacy services for people over 16 who may be vulnerable because of age, illness or disability. Our budget is not \$50 million, but \$2.8 million. As Ontario's population ages, many people will face situations in which advocacy will be essential. I don't believe Frances Mike Harris wants to leave vulnerable people out in the cold. I don't believe he can.

Doris Smith,  
Chatham, Ontario Advocacy Commission,  
Toronto

## Tennis, anyone?

Twenty-five years ago, Canadian tennis flourished by a decision made by Mike Belbin to choose Canadian citizenship at age 21, after having been born in Montreal but brought up in Florida. Mike played Davis Cup for Canada for eight years. He has, by far, the greatest international competitive record of any "Canadian" tennis player, with wins over Arthur Ashe and Rod Laver. So far, Canadian tennis history. George Lushington's record includes some proof when a 137 mph serve that impresses the media and a ranking of 41 ("The powerhouse defender," Sports, June 25). So, let's leave things in perspective.

Jim Macdonald,  
Past President,  
Canadian Tennis Association,  
Belmont, B.C.

Macdonald's column includes errors. Belbin's map included the year and date. Please notify some address and do not include numbers. Please inform us in the future. Macdonald's magazine 777 Day St. Toronto, Ont. M5R 1A7 Tel: (416) 594-7038. Macdonald's website: www.mcdonalds.com or 303-224-7038/mcdonalds.com

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## Time to get tough with the natives

BY DMANE FRANCIS

Malcolm H. Smith has spent a career shaping public policy, and his latest cause is his most controversial—the country's Native Aboriginal policies. Smith, now a public policy consultant and columnist in Victoria, is a lawyer who has spent 35 years in the public service of British Columbia, specializing in constitutional law. He has just written, and self-published, an inspiring book called *Our Future or Native Land?*, which offers a frightening glimpse at the spiralling costs and escalating tolls that face generations of non-Aboriginal Canadians who will be responsible for the costs for relief and presents compelling reasons why they should be adjusted. Like Smith, I have long been concerned about the special privileges unfairly awarded to this country's aboriginals, such as tax-free status, questionable land-claim awards and special exemptions from the rule of law, as well as massive cash expenditures.

Canada has 2,370 Indian reserves encompassing more than 16,000 square miles—11% about half the size of Nova Scotia. According to Smith, some 60 per cent of reserves are unutilized. The number living on the rest is 314,865, or 1.1 per cent of the country's population. As Smith points out, ownership is held by Ottawa, in trust for bands, which makes it impossible for them to mortgage, transfer or sell the lands. This effectively prevents the bands from achieving either independence or economic development. So instead of encouraging autonomy, self-reliance and a sense of self-worth, Aboriginal policies encourage dependence, bureaucracy and paternalism.

Smith maintains that the aboriginals have received as enormous and unfair generosity for several reasons, including guilt about past misdeeds, misplaced sympathy, bureaucratic indifference to low-level consequences of land-claim outcomes and appeasement by politicians for political gain.

*Reforms are required that would recognize the rights of the rest of Canadians who are footing these awesome and overly generous bills*

"In the department of Indian affairs and Northern Development, major land claims agreements 'successfully' negotiated are a decided plus," he writes. "Little regard seems to be given to the public interest in all of this."

Politicians are also indifferent to the public interest. After the appalling 1986 Oka scandal, former prime minister Brian Mulroney deplored the incident in a speech—but then accelerated the process of land claim settlements. Similarly, B.C. Premier Mike Harcourt capitulated to three red-neck bands that erected blockades on a public road in November, 1994, to prevent access to a ski resort. "The blockade cost the resort \$1 million a week in lost business," writes Smith, "and within six weeks, Harcourt signed a three-year agreement with these bands—dubbed the Osoyoos First Nations—in which the government recognized the bands' 'aboriginal rights' to more than 400 square miles. The agreement allows the bands to 'co-own' cattle grazing rights, mining claims, logging and other operations on Crown land. The ranchers, miners and loggers in the area were not consulted."

Other governments, such as Quebec's former non-regime and that of Quebec Premier Jacques Parson, have given away the proverbial wheat to buy votes or purchase peace from potentially trouble some aboriginals. Parson's Ministry gave himself the right to alter provincial election law in September, 1994, in order to co-opt outspoken aboriginal leaders. This explains the fact that Cree Chief Matthew Coon Come, who told me in an interview last year that his people would boycott a referendum on sovereignty, has backed out of that threat after sweeteners were given by the province to his people.

Smith points out that politicians even make handouts without proper authorization. "The rule of law and the Constitution have been virtually ignored by governments' efforts of recent years. The misallocation of what amounts to a new province—Manitoba—[was done] without obtaining the approval of at least seven of the existing provinces as required under section 42 of the Constitution Act, 1982," he writes. Another example is the federal creation of an aboriginal-only commercial lottery on the West Coast, added in as an aboriginal right. But, Smith says there are numerous court cases that have determined that the aboriginal right to fish extends only to raising personal food, social or ceremonial requirements.

Smith also complains about negotiations towards native self-government without due process. "Negotiations at both levels are proceeding [in other organizations] on the basis that the concept of the inherent right to self-government is a third order of senior government in Canada, despite the fact that courts at the highest level have rejected the concept," he writes. As Smith points out, reforms in native policy are required to meet Canada's obligation to native people—and nothing more. In the beyond their legal entitlements is to go on at the expense of the rest of Canadians. Smith rightly suggests that all current native programs be phased out. He calls for the repeal of the Indian Act, including the tax exemptions it provides. Smith also recommends that land-claim agreements be limited to "the modern aboriginal interest" recognized by the B.C. Court of Appeal in a 1993 ruling on a sweeping claim by 51 aboriginal groups. He would no further and insist that all settled claims be re-examined and renegotiated. Then I would move external Indian negotiations unless aboriginal claimants first set aside all their existing privileges.

Smith's conclusions are well reasoned and represent a wake-up call to Canadian politicians should also be adopted by the current, and eventually upcoming, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. Typical of Ottawa, that commission is grinding away with a budget of \$80 million over four years. Fortunately for the country and the commission, Mal Smith has come up with the answers at no cost to taxpayers. He's not only to be congratulated but to be heeded.

**Maclean's**  
**DEALER OF THE YEAR**

MACLEAN'S CONGRATULATES

**MAL BARBER**

**THE SASKATCHEWAN AUTOMOBILE DEALERS ASSOCIATION  
1995 MACLEAN'S DEALER OF EXCELLENCE AWARD WINNER**

Maclean's is pleased to salute Mal Barber, president of Barber Motors Ltd. in Weyburn, Saskatchewan.

Mal is close to the automobile industry from an early age when he worked part-time at his family dealership in Weyburn. In the early 70s he became a clerk with the Ford Motor Company in Vancouver, B.C. He then moved back to Weyburn, where he worked his way up from sales to management and finally president of the 12-year-old automobile business.

Mal and his dealership have received countless awards including the Cooperative Spring Sales Contest (1990-1994) as well as the Circle of Excellence in 1992 and the President's Temple Crown in 1983 and 1984.

Mal is very active with his local auto association, including his roles as president of the Saskatchewan Automobile Dealers Association in 1994, director for two 2-year terms and currently he holds the executive title of past president. He is also involved with the GM Dealer Council and the GM Dealer Marketing Association.

Mal continues to give over consumers and judges alike with his business acumen, as well as his extensive involvement in automobile associations and commitment to his community.

**Congratulations  
Mal Barber**

**Maclean's**  
The Canadian Magazine

# ENDING THE SECRET

## Karla Homolka details her deal with the Crown

She spends her days locked in a cell at the Prison For Women in Kingston, Ont., isolated from other inmates for her own protection. Her only diversions are a television set, an hour of daily exercise in the prison yard and the correspondence courses in sociology she takes through York University. But 35-year-old Karla Homolka says she has one "freedom" in prison—where she is serving consecutive 12-year sentences for manslaughter in the slayings of Krystina French and Leslie Mahaly—plus she ever had in the St. Catharines, Ont. home she shared with her former husband, 30-year-old Paul Bernardo. Last week in the Toronto courtroom where Bernardo is on trial for first-degree murder in the slayings, she said she allowed that freedom by cutting a deal with Crown officials under which she would receive a fixed sentence in exchange for testifying against her former husband. And she acknowledged that she left her husband only after she concluded that she was destined to live his rest of life.

Homolka revealed the details of her previously secret plea-bargain negotiations for the first time at the conclusion of two days of questioning by Crown attorney Jay Houlden. The deal—reached in mid-May, 1993, after extensive negotiations between her lawyer and senior Crown officials in Toronto—created a public uproar when rumors of its existence began to circulate around the time of her trial two months later. Homolka testified that the agreement required her to tell the truth, and she could be convicted if she lied. Homolka learned that it was she who had actually carried out the killing of either French or Mahaly. Under Houlden's questioning, she maintained that her former husband strangled both girls with a black electrical cord. But Bernardo's principal lawyer, John Brown, was expected to attack her story, her credibility and the deal she struck with the Crown in a searching cross-examination that was scheduled to begin on July 4 and last for several days.

Despite the apparent substance of the agreement, Homolka's deal caused a number of long-standing public concerns about such negotiations, particularly when they involve serious crimes. Many lawyers admit that such privately negotiated plea bargains create skepticism about the justice system. But they also agree that plea bargaining is essential to keep the system working. Ronald Dettlme, professor at criminal law at Queen's University and a former Ontario provincial court judge, said that in about 90 per cent of criminal cases, the accused person either pleads guilty voluntarily, or makes a deal. "If we try to abolish plea bargaining there is no way in God's green earth that our society could afford the trials," said Dettlme. The number of judges and lawyers involved would be horrendous.

In his experience, criminal lawyers acknowledge that plea bargaining can lead to mistakes—particularly when two or more people

"I understand that I must co-operate fully with the investigating officers, be truthful and frank in providing answers to all questions asked"

*Karla Homolka Bernardo*



are charged as a crime and one of them makes a deal. That negotiated settlements usually work to everyone's benefit by preventing costly, emotionally stressful trials in which victims must face their would-be killers, said William Tiedt, vice-president of the Canadian Crime and Lawyers' Association. The negotiations may involve only the Crown and defence lawyers, he said, but in many prominent cases they also involve victims or surviving family members, relatives of the accused and the police. And sentencing is based on a number of factors, including the accused person's sense of remorse and his or her degree of co-operation with police. "Is a lot of murder cases and we are very careful," said Tiedt. "The Crown and defence don't come to agreement on a plea bargain in a murder case without seriously doing a lot of hard thinking."

In his opening address to the courtroom, four women jury, Houlden

**Sketch of Homolka testifying. Legal: the deal could be nullified if authorities learned Homolka did the killing**

said the Crown made the deal 18 months before plotting 55 hours of explicit homicide videotapes with a view to the sexual assaults of French and Mahaly. The tapes, which have been shown to the jury, contain a six-minute segment in which Homolka and Bernardo sexually assault her fingered and unconscious 15-year-old sister, Tammy, who choked to death on her own vomit shortly after the attack ended early on the morning of Dec. 24, 1989. There is also footage from a similar incident with another teenage girl known only as Jane Doe, who survived the attack and is expected to testify against Bernardo.

Homolka's deal shields her from prosecution for any other crimes provided she disclosed her involvement.

As the testified about her co-operation with the Crown, Homolka contradicted previously published accounts of how police came to suspect Bernardo's involvement. Spokesmen for the Meirle Toronto police previously claimed that their own investigative efforts had led them to Bernardo, who lived with his parents in the Toronto suburb of Scarborough before moving to St. Catharines in early 1981. But Homolka said that she brought him to their attention when she contacted police on Feb. 9, 1989, and in an interview with two officers divulged certain information about her former husband. Two days later, she met with Western Falls lawyer George Walker, and on Feb. 15 she authorized him to seek "limited immunity" in exchange for information relating to the murders of French and Mahaly.

Within two weeks, Homolka and her parents, Karol and Dorothy, signed a statement outlining the outlines of a deal—an arrangement that was drastically different from the one she had originally been seeking. Instead of "limited immunity," she was now prepared to plead guilty to two counts of manslaughter and to accept a 12-year sentence. The negotiations continued even after Homolka returned to Toronto to spend in early March for a seven-week psychiatric treatment. While there, she wrote a letter to her parents and mother to her sister Lori, now 34, confessing her role in the death of Tammy Homolka.

After being discharged from the hospital in late April, Homolka

was devastated and isolated by her sister's husband. She spoke, usually in a flat, apathetic voice, at matching physical and psychological abuse that culminated in almost daily beatings with objects ranging from dish-light to pieces of furniture, before she left Bernardo on Jan. 5, 1993.

Homolka spent her first week as the stand dealing with events from October, 1987, when she met Bernardo, until the June, 1991, death of 14-year-old Mahaly, her wedding two weeks later and the August, 1991, assault on Jane Doe. She then provided a recanting account of the final homicide—Died of 15-year-old French when she and Bernardo kidnapped on Jan. 26, 1989, while the teenager was walking home from school. They held her for almost 12 hours in their St. Catharines bungalow, where she was sexually assaulted and sexually beaten, before murdering her on the morning of April 19—Easter Sunday—because they were expected later that day at her parents' house for a family dinner. Homolka testified that she could not remember the final screams when Bernardo went out for food, but described instead, or her own frightened at having to deal with the police, or her enraged husband.

Homolka maintained that her relationship with Bernardo, which she portrayed as having been a loveless chain since the death of Tammy, became a husband nightmare after the murder of French. In mid-June, she said, he confessed to her that their marriage was nearly a facade to cover his criminal activities. She then told him she would testify in New York state to secure complete immunity to Canada, and dragged her along after she finished work at a local veterinary clinic. Homolka also said that he made her accompany him as he cruised the streets of several southern Ontario communities looking for potential prey victims.

She said she attempted to leave her husband around the time of their first anniversary on June 28, 1991, and began removing her possessions with the help of her parents. But Bernardo asked to speak to her privately and threatened to shoot her mother and later the wife of Tammy's police officer the next day. Homolka's parents finally convinced her from the marital home after learning that she had been severely beaten and left with bruises from head to toe. And according to her own notes in court, last week, she is better off at prison. "I don't have to worry about being threatened and beaten every day," she said. "I have a lot more freedom in prison than I ever had with him."

DARBY JENSEN AND SHARON DOYLE DESERGER



returned to her parents' home. In mid-May, the negotiations were complete. She finally agreed to a 12-year sentence apparently to reflect her involvement in Tammy's death. The deal, signed by Murray Segal, director of the Crown's criminal law office, stipulated that she provide "a full, complete and truthful account" of the deaths of French, Mahaly and her youngest sister, as well as at other crimes in which she was a participant. There was also a clause allowing the Crown to lay additional charges if police discovered that she was lying or had committed perjury. The deal forbids Homolka from giving any public interviews or profiting from the three deaths. Furthermore, the Crown had the option to lay any charges it deemed appropriate if a trial jury refused to accept the agreement.

Since signing the deal, Homolka has spent hundreds of hours being interviewed by police and Crown officials. And despite the midlife evidence, her own story remains a crucial part of the Crown's case because the murders themselves were not filmed. Throughout Homolka's lengthy examination, Homolka portrayed herself as someone who was



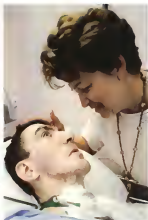
# Montreal police under siege

Four officers convicted in a brutal beating add to a force's woes

They took it badly, all four of them. Pierre Bergeron, a 41-year-old veteran of 17 years on the Montreal police force, stood transfixed in disbelief for several long moments as he looked to the verdict, then finally sobbed aloud. Michel Vadeboncoeur, 33, collapsed into his seat in the prisoner's cell, his elbows on his knees, head cradled in his hands. Louis Szausz's eyes brimmed with tears as he wrapped a comforting arm around Vadeboncoeur's shaking shoulders. And André Laporte stared across the brightly lit courtroom at the jurors, feverishly searching the faces of the seven men and the women who had deliberated for eight days before rendering a decision on his fate. "Ce n'est pas moi," Laporte muttered over and over. "This isn't me."

But it was. The jury found Laporte and his three colleagues, all members with previously unblemished records in the Montreal Urban Community Police Department, guilty of sexual assault, bodily harm. They were convicted in connection with the beating of Richard Barabé, a 29-year-old taxi driver who was hit on an apparently unremarkable "near-encounter" case after he was stopped, searched and brutally beaten in a hotel bar on a police station in the city's north end on the morning of Dec. 14, 1983. A 9th constable and the only woman charged in the case, 29-year-old Susan Cloutier, was acquitted.

The verdict handed down last week means pain, not only for the four convicted police officers. There are other repercussions to the affair, reaching beyond the fate that awaits them: They face the likely prospect of a devastating end to their careers, as well as up to 10 years in prison, when they appear before Quebec Superior Court Justice Benoît Gauthier for sentencing on July 12. But no matter what happens to the policemen, they will leave behind a department that is reeling from a succession of damaging blows that has helped to create the impression of a force pathologically close to being out of control. "What has happened around this city in recent months is enough to make any police chief weep," said Jean-Pierre



Barabé is hospital with sister Claudette, Szausz (far front) and Vadeboncoeur "a police nightmare"



Bergeron, director of the International Centre for Comparative Criminology at the Université de Montréal. "It's been a police nightmare."

At the heart of the problem is a series of fatal shootings that occurred while the Montreal force was under the spotlight as a result of the Barabé case. In March, police shot and killed an emotionally disturbed man, Pierre Barabé, 23, after he inflicted a superficial wound on an officer with a kitchen knife, then bawled himself into his own self-appraisal. The police rushed into the apartment of a special constable the arrival of a tactical unit and a negotiator, an action that a coroner's report subsequently criticized as hasty. In late May, a 25-year-old Peruvian born immigrant, Martin Szausz, was shot in the head on a downtown street after he was arrested on suspicion of shoplifting. Witnesses claimed that the wounded Szausz was laughing or lying on the sidewalk, apparently attempting to surrender, when the fatal shot was fired. A preliminary grand jury indictment in the incident by the Société du Québec, the provincial police force, said that Szausz had been killed accidentally.

Then last week, in another courtroom, a 37-year-old, 6-foot-10-inch, 200-pound, 40-year-old man, Philippe Ferron, after being shot three times by rubber bullets fired at close range by a member of the Montreal force's tactical unit. He had thrown a 18-centimeter pick at the 5042 train, which was attempting to persuade him to surrender after they were called to his home by his sister, who said he had threatened her and killed her four cats. That incident was broadcast live on television. Initially, there had been speculation that Ferron, who had a cardiac condition, died of a heart attack. But a preliminary autopsy found that one of the three rubber bullets penetrated a lung and damaged his heart. "I'm sure he had a history of cardiac problems, but that's not what killed him," said coroner François Houde. "A rubber bullet did it."

For Montreal's beleaguered police force, the timing could not have been more unfortunate. Ferron's death came at the same time the four constables were convicted in the Barabé case, a beating that left the

Montreal caber with a fractured skull, a broken nose, two ribs that had been snapped off at his spine and a partially liquefied brain. Criminologist Brodeur, who has served on two of the most recent of several public inquiries into the Montreal force's allegedly cruel conduct, as well as teaching criminology at Quebec's police academy, claimed to see a "common thread" in all the incidents. "There is a sense of urgency, a demand for a swift emergency response in all police procedures that I think is basically wrong," he said. "Often, it's better to wait. That was certainly true in the case of Barabé and with Szausz. Two police forces in Quebec, all police forces, need to rid themselves of what I can only describe as a macho attitude. They need to learn how to listen slowly."

It is unclear that the Montreal force may still be learning again. Quebec's Public Security Minister Serge Michon had already agreed to set up inquiries into police conduct in both the Szausz and Barabé cases. And last week, in the wake of the Barabé convictions, he indicated that he was contemplating other measures, including the creation this summer of a special committee that would examine police procedures and recommend ways to strengthen surveillance of what happens in police patrol cars, interrogation rooms and holding cells.

At the same time, Michon also appointed a new director for the police academy in Quebec, writing a procedure for picking a woman for the job. He named Louise Gagnon-Gauthier, a 47-year-old junior college professor. Gagnon-Gauthier immediately suggested that the time might have arrived to implement psychological testing to screen all future police officers, weeding out potential troublemakers early in the training process. "It's difficult," she said, "but it's also clear that we have to try to find tests to cast those who are psychologically unsuited for the job."

No matter what the future reforms, however, it is all too late for Richard Barabé. The taxi driver is not expected ever to emerge from the coma he fell into 10 months ago as a result of the beating. The incident began at 3:45 a.m. when he broke a church window, apparently in frustration at being denied visiting rights to see his son during the Christmas holidays. He was pulled over as he drove through the suburbs until he was finally arrested outside the home of his brother, himself a Montreal policeman, and dragged off to be beaten. The lawyers who represented the four constables convicted of the crime last week said that they may appeal, but the province's Barabé's sister, Claudette, says prison for some satisfaction. "Criminals are sick and need a police beating," she said. "If there are permanent changes, then what happened to my brother may not have been in vain." Others, including as doctored some members of the Montreal force itself, would heartily endorse that view.

BARRY CAMEL IS IN MONTREAL

# Breaking the silence

A report reveals abuse against Inuit children

A quarter century after the last was denied last St. Joseph Bernard's Infant Day School in the tiny community of Chesterfield Inlet, 2,300 km west of Yellowknife, the mission is finally set on ending its troubling secrets. The government of the Northwest Territories last week released an independent report that found serious violations of physical and sexual abuse of Inuit students had occurred at the school, and at an adjacent residential school, by the Catholic Church, between 1952 and 1981. At the same time, the RCMP announced that it had completed a 21-month criminal investigation into 238 allegations of abuse. That

Drugs I went through—and it's probably the most troubling part of my life."

The Chesterfield Inlet report was only the latest in a series of revelations about abuse of children—many of them brought to light by church and governmental institutions across the country. The silence was first broken in Newfoundland, where between 1988 and 1989 eight Christian Brothers were convicted of physically and sexually abusing boys at the Mount Carmel Orphanage. Other cases since then have involved sexual abuse against children at the Kingscliff Training School in New Brunswick. And last week, RCMP in British Columbia laid narrow leaders that a continuing investigation into abuse at 14 private residential schools run by the Catholic, Anglican and United churches has turned up 90 suspects. No charges have yet been laid in that investigation, which is expected to last another two years. "Sexual and physical abuse can affect a victim for a lifetime," Staff Sgt. Doug Hoffmann told 120 chiefs at a meeting of the B.C. First Nations Chiefs' Council in Vancouver. "We're here to facilitate the healing process."



Anonewick of a mission, finally we understood it was not our fault"

police decided not to lay charges, citing a variety of reasons. They included the fact that some former students were unable to identify themselves with any accuracy; two of the alleged perpetrators had died, and those still living are now in custody. In some cases police noted, the state of allegations had been unclear. Although the passage of time has clearly made pursuing alleged offenders more difficult, it has not crossed the line of the victims' Miami Tappin, a spokesman for the survivors of Chesterfield Inlet, revealed in an interview that he was both physically and sexually abused by Catholic Oblate brothers at the school he attended between 1963 and 1980. "What we went through just wasn't normal," said Tappin. "There are certainly a lot of people out there who went through every of the same

In the Northwest Territories, that process began in 1988, when former students gathered for a reunion in Chesterfield Inlet. Jack Anonewick, now the liberal member of Parliament for the Arctic riding of Nanavut, says he was a student at the school, which he attended from 1959 and 1964, between the ages of 9 and 14. Anonewick said the students had "convicted people we shouldn't tell anyone—and for us it was shameful to acknowledge." It was only at the reunion, sharing memories of abuse, that "finally we understood it was not our fault."

The allegations prompted investigations by both the territorial government and the RCMP. In response to their findings, the government said last week that it will negotiate with the Catholic Church and with Ottawa—which entrusted the church to run the school—to ensure that counselling and other support services are available to survivors. Anonewick said he was "overwhelmingly disappointed" that no charges will be laid. But Tappin said the RCMP investigation and the report were a "good start," which provided public acknowledgment of the abuse. Survivors still need support, he said, adding that many are spread throughout remote northern communities where counselling services are scarce. "There are a great many tools you need to deal with a past that is so traumatic," Tappin said. "But the first thing is to break the silence."

MARY NEMETH WITH LENA MARKS IN Yellowknife



*Dennis also is now concerned about the defect as well as threats to her person.*

## The power of seniors

Salmi's Demos is not very scary. At 140 lbs. tall, four inches, with a bush of white hair, the 72-year-old Ottawa pensioner does not look like the kind of man you are afraid. But a decade ago, Demos became a potent symbol of grey power when she confronted then-Prime Minister Brian Mulroney on Parliament Hill and forced the Tory government to change its pension-cutting legislation for the old-age pensioners. "You had to see" after Mulroney told Mulroney in reference to his pre-election pledge to protect social programs as a sacred trust. "You made us vote for you, then, goodbye Charles Brown." Now, in the federal Liberals' prepare to tackle pension reforms, Demos has once again become a symbol of grey power. "The political risk of tampering with 'seniors' to ease citizens' 'everybody,' said one Liberal member last week, "remembers Solange Du

son," that in political terms, 18 years is almost forever, and things have changed. Davis still frets about threats to her pension, but now she also worries about the deficit—and says that seniors are ready to do their part to bring it under control. "Everybody I talk to, they worry about the debt, the deficit," she says.

nothing requires more political delicacy than making the system of benefits for senior citizens without arousing a storm of protest from a lobby that government statisticians consider well organized and articulate. "Nothing scares a politician more than a senior citi-

With that in mind, the government so far has proceeded with caution, first by splitting off old-age security from Human Resources Minister Lloyd Axworthy's social policy remit, which came with changes to its title and scope. "It is not clear how much more carefully the government has approached this compared with unemployment insurance," says Keith Hartley, a social policy expert at Queen's University in Kingston. "The political risk of attacking the elderly is much greater than attacking 15 beneficiaries or 100 contributors," he says. "It is not surprising that except for the universal child benefit, we don't see anything else on the agenda which could be so easily sold to the public."

Nor much is yet settled about the changes that Ottawa will propose for old age pensions. But the government is considering a plan that would combine all benefits—including old age security (OAS) and the universal child income supplement (UCIS), which goes to low-income pensioners—into one income-tested program known as the SuperGIS. Income tests will be based on family rather than on individual income, as is the case

now. The intent of that would be to reduce the numbers of those eligible for assistance. In essence, the proposal would abolish one of Canada's first, and now few remaining, universal social programs. OAS now pays \$592.41 a month and cat pays a maximum of \$436.33 to those pensioners earning, in the case of single people, less than \$1,208 a year. The two programs, plus spouse's allowances, will cost the federal treasury \$2.2 billion this year and \$21.7 billion next—making them the largest single component of government spending other than interest payments on the debt.

by the year 2030 the federal government forecasts that seniors will make up 23 per cent of the population, compared with the current 12 per cent. Another idea being considered to restrain the growth in pension spending would be raising the retirement age to 65 from 63. The point of reforming the system, Finance Minister Paul Martin told reporters last week, is to make the pension system not only fair, but "sustainable," which is another way of saying that pension costs are becoming too expensive. As the government's official job is to "work" if you can't get a handle on the pension system, you never get a handle on the deficit.

But government advisers say privately that there are no large immediate prospects to be found in their pension reform, which is taking shape in the form of a bill that will be passed in the next 180 days. "We're not sure that annual income above \$80,000 would be abolished. That most of the money would go to low-income earners—in line with the promise in the government's February budget of 'anti-middle-class' tax cuts," says a senior adviser. "We've said 'no' to that. One of the options being considered is to take pension benefits away from Canadian households with incomes above \$60,000. But that would save only \$1.15 billion last year. Granted, that's a lot of money, but it's not a saving as large as \$800 million, that even if the cuts are not as severe, the 'conservative nibbling' at benefits is squeezing the government's budget," says a senior adviser. The president of the Canadian Securities Institute, representing private pension service providers, "We entered into these things in good faith and now we're not going to get out of them. That's what we can count on. That's

In her small apartment, decorated with pictures of her late husband, Waters, Solange Dean worries not just about the deficit but also how to raise each next step. Still, she says the wealthy should bear the greatest share of the burden. She is a Liberal, she says, and she has taken Prime Minister Jean Chretien's lead word during the last election campaign that "country like Canada can afford dignity for every citizen and for every senior." If Chretien goes back on that word she says, she will fight again. And that is a warning government would ignore at its peril.

WILSON CARACENA in Ottawa

## BOUCHARD'S GREETINGS

Ricœur, Québec's leader, issued a Canada Day message in which he expressed admiration for "the deep values that have made Canada what it is—a society of tolerance and peace, open to the world and ready to come to the assistance of other peoples elsewhere in the world." The separatist leader then added an ironic twist, saying that "it is towards this society that a sovereign Québec will extend its hand to found a new economic and political partnership."

## SOVEREIGNTY AHEAD

A new opinion poll gave the sovereignty camp a slight lead in Quebec. The survey of 1,508 voters taken between June 15 and June 25 by the Centre de recherche sur l'opinion publique found 52 per cent supported sovereignty combined with an offer of economic and political association with the rest of Canada, while 48 per cent were opposed. Prime Minister Jean Chretien said the result only reflected the ambiguous nature of the question.

## REVERSING PLEAS

Lorne McLaren, a former Saskatchewan cabinet minister and Conservative caucus chairman, pleaded guilty to using false invoices to obtain more than \$830,000 worth of legislators' communications expense allowances. McLaren, 56, also admitted to skimming \$114,200 from the caucus and diverting \$128,000 in caucus funds to the Saskatchewan Conservative party between January, 1987, and October, 1991. McLaren, one of 11 current and former Conservative MLAs charged with fraud, originally pleaded not guilty when his trial began on May 15. He is 6'3", 245 pounds and 50 years old.

## BANNING EXTRA BILLING

British Columbia's NDP government introduced a bill outlawing all forms of extra-billing, including charging patients for items such as bandages and sutures. But the bill failed to fulfil an earlier government promise to outlaw private health clinics.

## A FINANCIAL CRISIS?

In what is becoming a standard line of passage, Ontario's new premier, Mike Harris, announced that the province faces a "terrible financial crisis" because of falling revenues and higher-than-expected spending by the outgoing NDP government. Two days after being sworn into office, Harris said that his Conservative government will have to cut spending "somewhat deeper" to keep their campaign promises of a 30-per-cent cut in the provincial personal income tax rate and a balanced budget by the year 2000.

## Canada NOTES



**FATAL FIRES:** Firefighters emerge from the bush after a blaze near Geraldton, Oct. 1. At week's end, more than 700 forest fires continued to burn in Ontario, the western provinces and the two northern territories. Three Manitoba firefighters died when their Bell 206 helicopter plunged into the Churchill River amid thick smoke from forest fires near the northern community of Leaf Rapids. Five other crew members managed to swim safely to shore.

## Policing prostitutes

**A** firm grasp of dealing with real-world considerations about the impact of street prostitution, Toronto city council voted 10-7 to kill federal Justice Minister Allan Rock's plan to use the city as a laboratory for what it wants Canada to do to decriminalize adult prostitution. A majority of councillors also voted to consider ways of loosening and regulating prostitution—raising the possibility that Toronto might become the home of Canada's only night-club district. Mayor Barbara Hall supported the initiative, saying that she hoped it would help keep prostitutes under the age of 18 out of the trade. But Councilor Ray Gardner and the vote represented a dark day in Toronto's history. Declared Gardner: "This is maybe of Canada's largest city advancing licensing women to sell their bodies to the worst kind of men in our society."

Rock was also cool to Toronto's proposal to have operations in Ottawa that he is looking at.

a wide range of options outlined in a discussion paper on prostitution prepared in March by led

## Fisheries woes

A report released by the department of fisheries and oceans indicated that groundfish stocks in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and in Atlantic coastal waters show little sign of an improvement, despite fishing restrictions that have put 45,000 people out of work over the past three years. Meanwhile, federal fisheries minister Brian Tobin released an advisory note today that concluded that harvest levels of some members have more than doubled in an estimated 1.8 million acres since the 1970s, a troubling trend, as much fish and other prey as they did in 1981. Tobin said Ottawa will increase quotas and help offshore as expanded sea hunt is an effort to control the

# PAIN OR GAIN?

## Washington's economic policies point to low growth and austerity

The extremes of free enterprise flourish in sight of the central Washington buildings where America's economic managers operate—the White House, the Capitol and the Federal Reserve Board, the U.S. national bank commonly known as "the Fed." By day, well-heeled pedestrians and shoppers in designer tags covetously browse without paper cups and appealing for coins. After dark, within the view of passing free spenders in evening garb, offices without a house or hotel sign put a cheap light in colonnaded doorway. Last week, signs of renewed recession measured the barometer of the prosperous middle-class and millions of people between the extremes. And even if the Fed decides this week to trim interest rates, reducing the cost of borrowing as an effort to promote growth, any relief is likely to be marginal, grudging and slow to take effect.

Whether as an recession grips the American economy, the economic policies in the White House and in Congress, as well as in the Fed, point to years of austerity, including a continuing scarcity of jobs, across the United States. The same prospect confronts Canada and other countries where elected and appointed officials share the U.S. perspective. The common aim is to reduce their national budget deficits and suppress inflation. This spells the danger of insufficient growth to provide jobs for an expanding workforce as well as for millions now unemployed.

There is uncertainty among the money managers over the current standards of severity and what if anything to do about it. They foresee a danger that pending federal budget cuts will exert a further drag on the economy, although the scale and timing of the pruning remains to be settled. "It is difficult at this point to judge with any confidence how these various forces will work themselves out," said Fed Chairman Alan Greenspan in advance of the reserve board meeting.

Regardless, the demand commitment at the Fed, in the White House and among most members of Congress, is to tune down the national financial machinery. Those down policies have the impact on the people outside their windows largely out of the

equation. Greenspan, stating that the economy is barely growing, perhaps shrinking, sees "some increased risk of a modest near-term recession." But on the plus side for the board's overriding campaign to hold down prices and wages, the slowdown also shows that "underlying inflation pressures are easing," he said. Among many policy considerations is the Fed's role, "the most important is the necessity of maintaining stability in the prices of goods and services and confidence in domestic financial markets."

Greenspan's Canadian counterpart, Bank of Canada governor Gordon Thurner, echoes that assertion. Furthermore, in Thurner's view the U.S. downturn is the best thing that can happen for Canada. "It means," he added on June 30—the same day that Greenspan delivered his assessment—that the risk of inflation has been reduced. And that, in turn, will eventually allow "a more sustainable and increasing expansion in the U.S. economy."

Many economists agree that maintaining high interest rates in the quest for wage and price stability deepened the recession of the early 1980s, postponed a full recovery and prolonged the slump in Canada. That is the rationale behind monetary policy decisions, borrowing to expand business and production, help help, buy houses and make other loans.

### REPORT FROM WASHINGTON BY CARL MULLINS

purchase on credit. A similar interest squeeze—seven months in the history of Fed interest rate from early in 1984 to last February—helped bring about the current slackening, some Fed members suggest. "The process of slowing to a sustainable pace has not been entirely smooth," says one Greenspan. "Uncertainties abound."

One uncertainty is the outcome of a political struggle over details of federal spending in a Congressional crusade to eventually erase the annual budget deficit. Reductions in federal outlays that begin to bite later this year would be the prospect of business cuts and layoffs to further depress the national economy.



Living up for food stamps and welfare benefits in San Francisco: continuing scarcity of jobs

Last week, after 20 days of delivering, the House of Representatives passed a compromise deal with the White House to slash the coming federal budget. That measure, which studied in the Senate at week's end, drops only about one cent per dollar of current spending. At the same time, again after protracted haggling, the Republican majorities in the Senate and the House celebrated their agreement as a framework program aimed at balancing the annual budget in the year 1990. "We're saving America," proclaimed House Budget Committee Chairman John Kasich of Ohio. "We are about to guarantee a prosperous America and a better place."

In fact, the program's broadly outlined "savings" consist largely of slowing the future growth of social welfare outlays. It relies on assumptions that both inflation and interest rates will decline—and although it includes income tax cuts—that revenue will grow at a greater rate than rising social spending. As with the study details of the savings program review to be filed in January with the federal fiscal year that begins on Oct. 1, the budget is expected to switch well into autumn.

Greenspan applauds the political efforts to "put in place a sensible budget policy" even though the federal cuts imposed on a big government, might force the Fed off its game plan to bring about an inflation-free recovery. Greenspan has already cautioned that dropping U.S. interest rates could repel foreign investors, prompting them to divert money into more rewarding markets and driving down the value of the already sagging U.S. dollar as currency markets.

That gives possibility—equally odd for Canada, with its close business ties to the United States—reinforced the opinion of some analysts that the Fed would adjust interest rates to suit its own needs.

Indeed, some Fed members put a positive spin on advance indications that the econ-

omy's output in the April-to-June quarter may show shrinkage. One reason for optimism is two successive quarters of contraction. Greenspan called the downturn "a process of moderation." Board member Lawrence Lindsey described it as "an inventory correction"—a slowdown in production while businesses market stockpiled goods.

In truth, it is hard for the most astute economist to tell how the current downturn is a temporary dip in the start of a full recession. A new study by the investment policy arm of New York City-based PaineWebber Inc. backs evidence that

even so-called final GDP performance are often unreliable. Calculations of GNP growth in 1980 and the first half of 1981 later proved to have been too low. The most recent revisions

for the 12 months from mid-1983 to mid-1984 now record weaker growth in that period than what "final" accounts showed. Research & Edwin Korschner, chairman of the PaineWebber Investment Policy Committee. "Economic statistics are continually subject to revision, long after the facts has any truly severe, most significance."

Greenspan predicted, as one much of so much uncertainty, a two-whirling debate when his economists and bankers assemble at the July meeting of the board's Federal Open Market Committee—in private, as is usual in its eight-year meetings. Differences exist among the committee's voting members—the six Fed governors (three are vice chairs) and four of the seven directors of the more than 12 regional banks. Analysts describe the committee majority as "inflation hawks," allied with Greenspan. The two newest and youngest governors, Clinton Anderson, 46, of Kansas, and Susan Yelton, 46, of San Francisco are described as "employment doves." They are concerned that the focus on fighting inflation costs jobs.

The Fed's lagged available jobs for more balance, requiring its provision of "maximum employment" as well as stable prices.

"Of us doing it is certain," Greenspan said in advance of the meeting. "The Federal Reserve Board meeting will be most engaging." But he quickly suggested that he expects to get his way. "I am also confident that the consideration given to the stance of policy will be in the context of our long-range goal of price stability."

Whatever the consequences of their decision, the Fed governors are immune from penalty, if not second-guessing. Fall terms of office last 14 years if they choose to serve that long. Greenspan, 68, was appointed to the board in 1987, his second four-year stint as chairman expires next March, but his present term as a governor starts in the new year 1990. If the economy is depressed in 1989, a federal election year, it is Clinton and the Republican majority of Congress who will face re-election at the polls. But the hardest punishment for a weak call by the Fed, the White House or Congress will fall on the present voters and leaders in a worldwide economy and on the more people who likewise stand to lose a business or lack a wage. □



Greenspan 'uncertain'

# The price of power

Moscow looked like a city under martial law last week as tens of armed presidential cronies and 10,000 rioting and police reinforcements patrolled the Russian capital. The increased security measures were aimed to guard against terrorist attacks such as the one in southern Russia last month, when rebels from the breakaway republic of Chechnya seized nearly 1,000 hostages and held them until the Kremlin agreed to a ceasefire in the mountainous Caucasus region. But the armed presence was also a strong metaphor for the political crisis engulfing President Boris Yeltsin, who has come under repeated fire for his government's economic policies and its ineffectual response to Chechnya's independence drive. Declared pro-market reformer Gennady Yavlinsky, "Yeltsin is not fit to run the country. He has mismanaged privatisation and wasted the readiness we showed in Gorbachev."



Yeltsin, many Russians have written him off as a political force

stood for re-election. But while he remains elected, many Russians, including several top tier officials, have already written him off as a political force.

Discontent with Yeltsin is so pervasive, in fact, that several well-known figures from the past are contemplating a run at Russia's highest office. The list includes Gorbachev, al-

**Boris Yeltsin's  
authority is  
further shaken**

though polls suggest that the former Soviet president's popularity is even lower than Yeltsin's. Many Russians have never forgiven Gorbachev for initiating the reforms that led to the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. Russia's democratic institutions, are widely blamed for the economic pain caused by the country's uncertain march towards capitalism—and, as a result, have only slightly better hopes. They have splintered into squabbling

factions seemingly incapable of uniting behind a single plausible alternative to Yeltsin.

With the candidates in dispute continuing an open for challenges from both the left and the right, Russia's renegade Communist party, which advocates slowing free-market reforms, has already made substantial inroads among the poor and disenfranchised, particularly in urban areas. Led by Gennady Zinov'ev, an obscure 56-year-old lawyer who favors voluntary reindustrialization of the Soviet Union, the Communists have quietly rebuilt their ranks into a political force that now boasts some 100,000 active members. During parliamentary elections, scheduled for this December, the Communists are expected to join forces with members of the like-minded Agrarian Party, which has a strong rural base. That alliance may allow Moscow-based political analyst Sergei Pridem'ko to say "a really good chance of taking over the legislature."

Russia's future, however, will depend even more on the outcome of the next presidential race. The most charismatic candidate may well be Alexander Lebed, a former general with a reputation for business and lawlessness. Before he resigned from the military last month, Lebed had openly criticised his own Russian-led effort to crush Chechnya. Now a criminal and wanted to enter politics, the 46-year-old Lebed has a simple plan for restoring order and economic health to Russia: a crackdown on crime and corruption.

Lebed, though popular, is not a political acolyte. "Yeltsin could face a real, serious challenge from his own police minister. Initially regarded as just another bland Soviet-style apparition, the 57-year-old Viktor Chernomyrdin, former head of the national gas monopoly, has developed into a political heavyweight since becoming prime minister 2½ years ago. With Yeltsin out of the country for the G-7 summit in Halifax last month, Chernomyrdin gained a huge public profile by negotiating an end to the Chechen hostage crisis.

Many Russians are openly happy that Yeltsin might step down in favor of Chernomyrdin. But despite his civilian political weight, Chernomyrdin does a delicate balancing act. Having been appointed by Yeltsin, the prime minister has had to support the unpopular president while at the same time trying to distance himself from the increasingly unpopular war in Chechnya. Even if he takes office at the current end of his political career, he appears to be drawing to a close.

MALCOLM GIBBY in Moscow

## MAJOR CHALLENGER

Danish Prime Minister Jørgen Major struggled to keep his job as right-wing Tony Blair. John Howard resigned his cabinet post to challenge him for the leadership of the ruling Conservative party. A leadership vote was scheduled for this week. Former Welsh secretary Radford, 44, is opposed to closer ties between Britain and the European Union—the principal cause of the party's disunity.

## UN CONTROVERSY

In San Francisco to lead celebrations marking the 50th anniversary of the signing of the UN charter, Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali warned that the United Nations is on the brink of bankruptcy. The government of Taiwan, meanwhile, offered to give the cash-strapped world body \$1 billion in exchange for membership. The other outraged China, which regards Taiwan as a renegade province.

## BOSNIAN ULTIMATUM

Kosovo Zulfikar, president of the Bosnian Federation, said that a new European rapid-reaction force will have to leave Bosnia if its mission is not clarified within 30 days. The ultimatum was issued as diplomats and politicians continued to debate the purpose of the 12,000-strong French, British and Dutch force, sent to salvage the founding UN peacekeeping mission.

## ELECTIONS IN HAITI

In its first test of democracy since ousted President Jean-Bertrand Aristide returned to power last October, Haiti held elections for more than 2,000 parliamentary and local seats. Although the results were not expected for several days, the elections were marred by widespread cheating, missing ballots and postponement of voting in some areas.

## SCHOOL DRUG TESTING

The U.S. Supreme Court ruled that public school officials could require student athletes to submit to random drug testing as a condition of being allowed to play interscholastic sports. The decision ended the issue of testing all students.

## A NARROW ESCAPE

The trip to an African summit by the Egyptian capital of Addis Ababa, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak survived an assassination attempt after gunmen sprayed his armored limousine with bullets. Mubarak escaped the aftermath of the attack was a relief of Egypt, escalating tensions between Egypt and its Islamic neighbor to the south.

# World NOTES



**DEADLY COLLAPSE!** The sudden collapse of a five-story department store in Seoul killed at least 180 people and injured nearly 1,000 others. Rescue workers digging through the rubble said they had seen scores of dead bodies—and were expecting the death toll to exceed 800. Chan Byung-yul, mayor of the South Korean capital, said a preliminary police investigation pointed to shoddy construction work and poor safety regulations as causes of the tragedy.

## A historic linking

A stormtroop and commandos shook hands and hugged after the U.S. shuttle *Atlantis* docked with the Russian space ship *Vitya* about 345 miles above central Asia, ending the two former Cold War adversaries in a new era of space cooperation. The six Americans, including two women, gave champagne, fresh fruit and flowers to their Russian counterparts. In return, they received the traditional Russian welcoming gift of bread and salt. With the diplomatic ceremonies complete, the crews began a busy five-day schedule of cargo transfer and in-orbit experiments.

The event marked the first docking of international spacecraft since July 17, 1975, when U.S. *Apollo* and Soviet *Soyuz* spacecraft were linked in orbit. Last week's mission was also the first in a series of seven shuttle visits to the Mir space station scheduled through late 1997. At that point, the United States and

Russia will begin assembly of a new, global space station with the help of the European Union, Japan and Canada.

## Terrorist threat

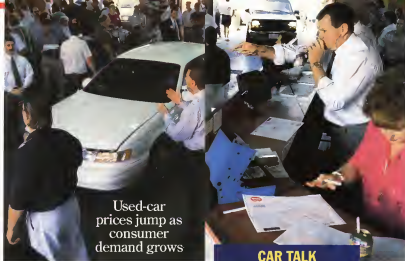
The so-called Unabomber, a terrorist hailed as 18 real books that have killed three people and wounded 23 others in the United States since 1978, sent a manifesto to *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*. In the rambling, 33,000-word document, the anarchist denounced the Industrial Revolution as a "disaster" and advocated destruction of factories and the overthrow of governments. But he promised to abandon his campaign of terror if other newspapers printed his manifesto within three months. Editors at the two newspapers said they did not want to print the document, would sell seven full pages. At week's end, as the FBI investigated the case, publishers were still considering how to deal with the ethical dilemma raised by the Unabomber's threat.

BY BRENDA DALGLISH

**O**n a hot, busy morning last month, 150 Ford dealers from Ontario, Quebec and Manitoba congregated at the country's largest used-car auction, as the customers at Toronto. In three hours of fevered bidding, the dealers snatched up most of the 620 vehicles on offer—mostly 2004 or 2005 models in good condition, many loaded with options and driven for only a few thousand kilometres by Fiat minivans or customers who had signed short-term leases. Most of the sales took place at 30 to 80 frantic seconds of rowdy bidding. Sell, auctioneer Bob Dickinson, president of Canadian Auto Auction Group Inc. of Montreal, said that the sale was unremarkable except for one thing: "From," he said honestly, "it's higher than two weeks ago."

This jump in the current state of Canada's used-car market. With consumer demand rising and supply constrained by several factors, including the tendency of some car owners to hang on to them longer, prices for used vehicles have been climbing steadily. Recent surveys indicate that consumers kept buying a used car or the top of their 30 most desired purchases, while buying a new car is near the bottom of the list. And according to a new econo study, nearly three times as many shoppers now want to buy a used, rather than a new, vehicle.

Since the last recession began in 1999, Canadians have purchased an average of 1.25 million new cars and trucks annually, compared with the country's all-time high of 1.3 million in 2005. That means fewer cars are available to be traded in and resold as used vehicles. As a result, industry insiders say that they are starting to worry that there could soon be a shortage of



Used-car prices jump as consumer demand grows

# BETTER THAN NEW

used cars. And with well-maintained used cars commanding higher prices, some observers say that previously avid buyers are not so eager to deal in their own: "I wouldn't buy a used car today," said Dennis Dickinson, president of Dickinson Automotive Consultants Inc. of Toronto. "I don't think you get value for money. You simply can't really enjoy the used-car market today." At the same time, Dickinson says the automakers, hungry for new vehicle sales, are offering particularly good deals.

Still, escalating new car prices are often cited as one of the main causes of the heightened demand in the used-car market. Adding to the cost are new government requirements for safety and pollution standards. As well, manufacturers are loading new models with expensive options like power windows and keyless locks. George Joy, the Montreal-based president of the consumer group Automobile Protection Association, says that an average new car owner now work about 37 weeks to afford a new car, compared with 23 weeks a decade ago. "New cars," said Joy, "are being priced out of reach of a lot of people right now." Added Bob Pirro, chief executive of the

Ontario Automobile Dealer Association in Markham, Ont. "People go in as the dealer to try out a new car, but when they get a look at the price they start thinking about used."

Another factor contributing to increased demand in that market segment is that the quality of many used autos has decreased significantly since the mid-1990s. In the past, many North American vehicles were worth little after they had been on the road for five or six years. But under intense pressure from Japanese competitors, domestic automakers have improved the quality of their products. The result is that cars last longer and command higher prices.

In addition, consumers in the 1990s—still struggling with the lingering impact of the last recession—were more reluctant to accumulate debt. They have also been a gratified shift as consumer values since the glory days of the 1980s. "There's a kind of a crime racket now about being used," said Phil Edmondson, a Montreal consumer advocate and former member of Parliament who publishes *Lease-A-4* as a annual guide to the used-car market. "It used to be, 'Hey, did you see all the bells and whistles on my new Lexus?'" Edmondson

**DIFFER:** A vehicle that has been badly damaged in an accident, then reconstructed with body parts from other cars.

**CURIOUS:** Unregistered dealers who pose as private owners to peddle stolen cars, then parking lots and other public locations.

**CLOCKERS:** Mechanics who are expert at rolling back odometers.

**PICKERS:** Agents who, acting for U.S. buyers, visit Canadian used-car auctions and wholesale lots in search of well-maintained cars and trucks.

**UPs:** New customers at an auto dealership, so-called because sales staff have to get up out of their chairs to greet them.

**BE BACKS:** Shoppers who promise to return.

again. "Now, 'Yes, 'hey, did you see the Lexus I got for \$26,000?'" Meanwhile, even as demand grows, the supply of used cars is being depleted by outside forces. The 2004 Free Trade Agreement has phased out the previous restrictions on the movement of used cars between Canada and the United States. As a result, American car dealers have increasingly become a force in the Canadian used-car market. They have been buying at the auctions, then wholesalers and directly from car rental companies and bank leasing operations, which regularly sell large numbers of low-mileage cars with moderate mileage. "The dealers come up here and take the cream of our used cars," said Joy. "There are two reasons why they came: the Canadian dollar has been weak, and the price of new cars is cheaper in Canada to start with." In fact, the disparity between Canadian and U.S. new-car prices is

often significant. A Ford Escort carries a manufacturer's suggested retail price (MSRP) of \$12,995 in Toronto. Just across the border in Buffalo, N.Y., a Escort with the same equipment is listed at \$22,025 (U.S.)—the equivalent of about \$17,700 Canadian. A Black & Veatch's MSRP at Toronto is \$13,095. A Chevrolet dealer also listed it for \$13,095 (U.S.), or the equivalent of about \$25,700 Canadian. Even with generally higher sales taxes in Canada, consumers north of the border tend to pay less than their American counterparts. Stewart Law, a spokesman for General Motors of Canada Ltd. in Delaware, ascribes the price difference to market conditions. "The whole idea of the market is different here," said Law, noting that fuel prices are higher, taxes are higher and Canadians have far less disposable income.

As a result of those factors, the manufacturers tend to price their cars lower in Canada. "Quite frankly," said Law, "all manufacturers discount cross-border sales by their Canadian dealers." Edmondson says that the manufacturers can bring pressure to bear on their Canadian dealers not to sell to American customers, so the price disparities can be maintained in the used-car market. Among other things, manufacturers can refuse to honor foreign customers' warranties and other contracts, and they can punish dealers directly by refusing to supply needed inventory or by taking away the franchise entirely. So while manufacturers can control the new market, they have little say in the used market. And since the only major differences between the U.S. and Canadian versions of current models is that the Canadian vehicles must be equipped with daytime running lights and metric odometers, there are no mechanical reasons why Canadian vehicles cannot be used in the United States. As a result,

American dealers have found that they can buy good-quality used vehicles in Canada and resell them at a profit.

Michael Lawrence, chairman of Canadian Auto Auction Group, says that his company began noticing an increasing number of U.S. buyers at its nine Canadian auction locations about two years ago. He credits the particularly low Canadian dollar at the time, as well as a big demand in the United States for good used vehicles, for the change. Although Lawrence says that it is impossible to know exactly how many Canadian vehicles are going south, there is no doubt that U.S. dealers are snapping up some of the most popular used cars, as well as trucks and sport utility vehicles like the Ford Explorer and Jeep Cherokee. Lawrence says that the practice is so well established that in Seattle one of the leading mass auction companies has dedicated an entire sales lane in Canadian vehicles. "We just sell the top of the line," said Lawrence.

According to Lawrence, Canadian dealers are now forming partnerships with American dealers. Together, they buy cars in the Canadian market and then ship the vehicles to the United States. If the cars are legitimately imported at the border, the American dealer has to pay a \$500 fee per vehicle, as well as other costs. But Lawrence says that some dealers have also found other ways straight-through—ways to move vehicles across the border. Bert Duggan, the chief financial officer at Canadian Auto Auction, estimates that he has sold in the last year, "at least 1,000 vehicles in a weak lower the Toronto area for the United States." Foreign buyers are helping to push up prices, as well as reducing the volume of available used vehicles in the domestic market. As a result of increased demand from Canadian customers and



# Business NOTES

## Auto trade dispute resolved

Just hours before an American deadline for sanctions against Japanese car imports was set to be imposed, the increasingly bitter trade dispute between the two countries was resolved last week. The negotia-



Kauter: a trade war averted

tor surplus with the United States more than half of Japan's \$90-billion surplus in current by cars and auto parts. Currently only 5.6 per cent of the auto parts sold in Japan are imported, compared with 33.5 per cent at the United States. The two sides had been bargaining over that issue for 25 months.

While U.S. officials hailed the new pact, the agreement has potentially negative implications for Canadian auto-parts suppliers. Japan is expected to buy about \$2 billion this year in auto parts from Canadian companies, and there is concern in the sector that much of that buying will now shift to the United States. Almost half those parts are exported to the United States for use in the manufacture of cars at Japanese auto

plants there. The risk is that those items will now be manufactured and installed in the United States.

The Clinton administration is expected to quickly resolve the Japanese car sector to ensure that there is no backsliding on the terms of the new agreement.

## The Home front

Anco Canada Petroleum Co. Ltd. of Calgary made a \$175-million takeover bid for Home Oil Co. Ltd., also of Calgary. Ancoco, a wholly owned U.S. subsidiary, offered all Home shareholders \$18.50 apiece for each of the company's 48 million outstanding common shares. Home's shares have traded at an average price of \$14.45 over the past six months. Ancoco would also take on Home's \$200-million debt load.

Within days of the bid, however, the directors of Home Oil declared their intention to search for a better offer, even though they did not reject Ancoco's advance outright. Ancoco, which has \$400 million in cash reserves at its disposal, has left its offer open until the end of August.

Home Oil, an oil and gas exploration and development company with most of its assets based in Western Canada, was formerly con-

trolled by the Bechtel family. The Bechtels sold their majority stake into the market in 1993 after the collapse of the family's real estate and natural resource empire. About 60 per cent of Home's properties overlap with those already in Ancoco's hands. In 1988, Ancoco acquired financially troubled Dome Petroleum Ltd. for \$5.1 billion. By acquiring Home, Ancoco would boost its reserves and its production of natural gas by 20 per cent. It would also get Home's 50-per-cent stake in Federated Pipe Lines, which transports oil and natural gas liquids through Alberta and British Columbia.

The proposed transaction ignited speculation about the emergence of other bidders, as well as rumors about other possible takeover deals in the oilpatch. The recent decline in oil and gas company share prices has made such acquisitions—especially those not burdened with debt—more vulnerable to takeover.

## TRUST TRANSFER

North American Life Assurance Co., of Toronto has agreed to sell its troubled trust company operations to Montreal-based Laurentian Bank for an undisclosed sum. The transaction is expected to close by the end of September. North American Life acquired the trust company operations, formerly known as First City Trust, from the Beldberg family. The deal requires approval from the Canada Deposit Insurance Corp. Following the sale, North American will return its focus to the insurance business.

## FLAT LANDSCAPE

After two months of decline, the Canadian economy posted a flat performance in April. According to Statistics Canada, economic output was up by 0.1 per cent in the month, principally because of a decline in manufacturing activity. At the same time, the U.S. commerce department reported that gross domestic product grew at an annual rate of 2.7 per cent in the first three months of this year. It was the weakest quarterly performance in 18 months for the U.S. economy.

## BANK BLAST

After a stern response from Federal Finance Minister Paul Martin, the Bank of Canada rescinded 10-per-cent salary increases awarded to four deputy governors. Their salaries were set to jump from \$122,000 a year to \$124,750. Martin declared that the pay hike was inappropriate at a time when Ottawa has frozen civil service salaries and is eliminating 45,000 jobs.

## FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Foreign investors are scooping up Canadian debt issues at a pace not seen since early 1994. According to Statistics Canada, foreign investors bought a net \$2.9-billion worth of Canadian securities in April, with an emphasis on bonds and money-market products. Economists said that a stronger Canadian dollar was a factor in the investors' return.

## THE WORLD AT WORK

The World Bank says that the growth of manufacturing in low-wage countries is not responsible for high unemployment in industrialized countries. Industrialized countries now import four times more manufactured goods from developing nations than they did in 1980. Five million of the eight million new jobs created by multinational companies between 1985 and 1992 were in poorer countries. But, the bank says, the surge of production is still too small to account for the estimated 35 million people now unemployed in industrialized countries.

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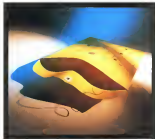
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## Contents

Conference Listings  
pages 3, 5, 7

Show Maps  
page 9, 10

Exhibitor Listings  
pages 10, 12

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**Wednesday, July 12**  
**9 a.m. - 10 a.m.**  
**Khalil Barsoum**

**W**ith almost 30 years of experience in the computer industry, president and CEO of IBM Canada Ltd., Khalil Barsoum will discuss the future of IT and what a company will need to thrive and survive into the next millennium. As part of one of the biggest computer hardware and software concerns in the world, he will focus on how a global enterprise such as IBM ensures that customers worldwide are provided with the technical solutions they need.

Exhibit Hours: 10:00 a.m. - 5:00 p.m. On-Site Registration: 7:30 a.m. - 5:00 p.m.

**9:00 a.m. - 10:00 a.m.**

**Keynote: Khalil Barsoum, IBM Canada Ltd.**

Wednesday, July 12	10:30 a.m. - 11:45 a.m.	12:15 p.m. - 1:30 p.m.	2:00 p.m. - 3:15 p.m.
<b>Strategic Architectures</b> <small>See 20-25</small>	(w) Windows 95 as a Corporate Standard <small>See 20-28</small>	Aligning Technology with Business <small>See 20-28</small>	Reengineering Realities <small>See 20-28</small>
<b>The Client/Server Model</b> <small>See 20-28</small>	(w) Client/Server Myths and Realities <small>See 20-28</small>	(w) Identifying the Best Client/Server Applications <small>See 20-28</small>	(w) Second Generation Client/Server Tools <small>See 20-28</small>
<b>Workgroups</b> <small>See 20-28</small>	(w) Empowering Your Office <small>See 20-28</small>	(w) Front Office/Back Office <small>See 20-28</small>	(w) Implementing Lotus Notes <small>See 20-28</small>
<b>Windows Directions</b> <small>See 20-28</small>	(w) Developing for Windows 95 — What's New <small>See 20-28</small>	(w) The Future of Windows <small>See 20-28</small>	(w) Upgrading to Windows 95 <small>See 20-28</small>
<b>Multimedia</b> <small>See 20-28</small>	The Informedia Revolution <small>See 20-28</small>	(w) Multimedia Software Directions <small>See 20-28</small>	Multimedia Platform Directions <small>See 20-28</small>
<b>Network Competing</b> <small>See 20-28</small>	(w) LAN Design Alternatives <small>See 20-28</small>	(w) LAN Routing Technologies <small>See 20-28</small>	(w) Connecting Multiple LANs <small>See 20-28</small>
<b>Wide Area Connectivity</b> <small>See 20-28</small>	(w) High Volume Connectivity Options <small>See 20-28</small>	(w) Integrating the Mobile Worker <small>See 20-28</small>	(w) Remote Network Access <small>See 20-28</small>
<b>Technology Fundamentals</b> <small>See 20-28</small>	Desktop Videoconferencing <small>See 20-28</small>	(w) Small Office Training and Support <small>See 20-28</small>	(w) The Internet <small>See 20-28</small>

**3:30 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.**

**Power Panel: What's so Great About the Information Highway**

(w) indicates a Windows-based environment  
(w) indicates a network-based environment

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Thursday, July 13  
9 a.m. - 10 a.m.  
Robert McDowell

Microsoft Corp. is one of the most influential computer software companies in the world and as its vice-president of enterprise customers, Robert McDowell is aware of the changes that innovation can have on the marketplace and in business.

McDowell has written several articles on information technology and its impact on business and co-authored a study titled, The Impact of Business Systems Technologies on the Financial Function. He has lectured around the world and will incorporate his experiences in a discussion and demonstration of the integration of Back Office/Office and Windows 95.

Exhibit Hours: 10:00 a.m. - 5:00 p.m. On-Site Registration: 7:30 a.m. - 5:00 p.m.

9:00 a.m. - 10:00 a.m.

Keynote: Robert McDowell, Microsoft Corp.

Thursday, July 13	10:30 a.m. - 11:45 a.m.	12:15 p.m. - 1:30 p.m.	2:00 p.m. - 3:15 p.m.
<b>Strategic Architectures</b>	<b>(n)</b> The Enterprise Model	Toward Collaborative Computing	Business Objects
<b>Workgroups</b>	Optimizing Workflow	<b>(w)</b> Messaging Alternatives	<b>(n)</b> E-Mail as a Workgroup Foundation
<b>The Internet</b>	<b>Session 101</b> Electronic Commerce in Canada	<b>Session 102</b> Connecting to the Internet	<b>Session 103</b> What's Next on the Highway?
<b>Windows Directions</b>	<b>Session 104</b> <b>(w)</b> 32-Bit Alternatives to Windows	<b>Session 105</b> <b>(w)</b> The Impact of Plug and Play	<b>Session 106</b> <b>(w)</b> Using Microsoft BackOffice
<b>Systems Administration</b>	<b>(n)</b> Installing and Supporting Windows 95 on a Network	<b>(n)</b> Network Management with Windows NT	<b>(w)</b> Managing Your Network with SMS
<b>Technology Fundamentals</b>	<b>(n)</b> CFI	<b>(n)</b> ATM	New Media
<b>In-Depth Technology</b>	<b>(w)</b> Under the Hood: Windows 95	Relational versus Object Databases	Under the Hood: OS/2 Warp

3:30 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.

Power Panel: Taking Client/Server to the Next Level

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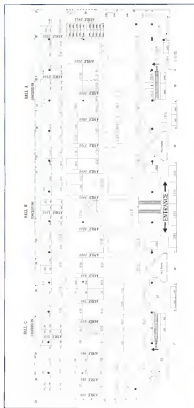
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See Pages 10 and 12  
 for Exhibitor Listings

## Skydome Floorplan



## Conclusions

## Exhibitor Listings

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Exhibitor Listings continued on page 12

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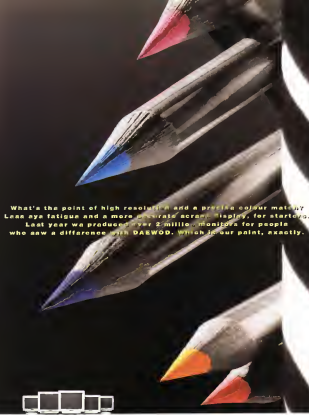
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Processor	386 mhz
RAM	1 mb
Hard disk	200 MB
Display	EGA or VGA (256 colors)
Ports	1 serial, 1 parallel, 1 floppy
Power supply	5.0
Weight	10.5 lbs (4.8 kg)
Price	Yes
Warranty	3 years
Service	Yes
Performance	11.3 mips
Reliability	8.8 hrs
Support	24 hrs
Price/performance	Excellent
Price/reliability	Excellent



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686	347 MHz
786	347 MHz
886	347 MHz
986	347 MHz
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## THE NATION'S BUSINESS



# Kein-clone Harris will soon face the music

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

**D**espite the many invitations and laudatory comparisons, Alberta Premier Ralph Klein is stubbornly sticking to his resolve not to go federal. He doesn't have to take the plunge: the Klein Agenda already rules the land.

Last week, Mike Harris began to unravel. In Klein's election platform in Ontario, while Roy Romanow's pretest socialism was back in the saddle in Saskatchewan with a milder version of the same program. In British Columbia, meanwhile, Liberal Leader Gordon Campbell, who is the most reactionary of the bunch, declared he was Klein's "pollyanna." Unless he does something really stupid, like start leaving brown paper bags with unmarked bills in hotel rooms after midnight, Campbell will beat Mike Harcourt in the election expected next spring. Finally, Gary Filmon in Manitoba and Frank McKenna in New Brunswick are both long-standing policy clones of the Alberta premier. The six, nearly tank dead Conservative Air Force tapped the nation's political pulse with its suggestion that Canada's national anthem be changed to *Kiss Klein Nyckelmink* (Daily Quebec's *Procurator* administration marches to its own drum corps, placing separatist ideas at all other economic and social considerations, sensible or otherwise).

Fitting into the above theory is the fact that, during his victorious campaign, Harris made ample use of both Klein's and Campbell's most senior advisers. Bud Lavoie, who is the Alberta premier's alter ego and has been the most essential adviser behind all of Klein's steady moves, spent a full day briefing the Harris candidates on how to behave after the election, when voters start to protest against the drastic welfare and other cuts proposed in this platform. It was, according to those who were there, a dramatic and persuasive performance, including simulated confrontations between strangers under signs and not-so-constituents. At the same time, Greg

*He will have trouble implementing his draconian agenda because Ontarians aren't quite as committed to free enterprise as Albertans*

Lyle, who was senior policy adviser to Filmon during the Newdex debates and now works in a similar capacity for Campbell, gave the Ontario Tories an effective briefing on policy issues and the idea was to reduce the differences between parties and focus instead on lifestyles of the leaders and candidates.

The grey eminence behind Harris and in some ways the resident philosopher of this countrywide populist movement is Tim Long, the new boy wonder of Canadian politics. He is 37 but looks 27, and has been married in a Tory party context since he was 14. A lawyer who went to Ottawa on the Maloney wave in 1984, he worked for the next two years in the Prime Minister's Office with Peter Walter, who was in charge of running the government's patronage shop. After his return to Toronto, he rose to become managing partner of Egos & Leander, lawyers, then the world's third-largest firm of executive talent hunters with 40 international offices. A former president of the Ontario Progressive Conservative Party, Long became Harris's campaign chairman and heavily influenced the writing of his platform. His greatest joy was winning a Tory election in Ontario, without relying ever for help from the venerable *Ross Machine*, that had dominated the party back rooms since Sir Sir.

"It's the nearest to a religious experience I've ever had," Long told me right after the cabinet meeting in ceremony. It may be the last one he has for a while. The Harris agenda is bound to have brutal consequences, even as it is designed to balance the budget and reduce taxes by a third, while cutting already trimmed provincial expenditures by \$6 billion over the next three years.

One problem is that he'll have much more trouble implementing such a draconian agenda because Ontarians aren't quite as committed to free enterprise in Alberta. "It just isn't true that Ontarians are social democrats at heart," Long insists. "What you saw in the election was the silent majority leading not just Harris, but his ideas. What Mike has done is establish a new coalition of people who aren't the stereotypical conservatives. He challenged almost every aspect of Ontario's conventional political wisdom, and got 45 per cent of the vote, more than any Tory since Leslie Frost in 1956."

Long predicts that, unlike most politicians who slip competently into office and promptly disappear into bureaucratic echo chambers from which they seldom emerge, Harris will continue conscientiously to expand his coalition. He doesn't just want to change policy, he wants to move the political goalposts. That's what his "freedom scorecard" is all about.

What Long has in mind is something called realignment politics. "The sheer discomfort with working people didn't see themselves as Conservatives, and Mike Harris is just the break of position who can make it happen. One of his overriding objectives is to prove to people that how you vote and whether you vote actually makes a difference."

Long and Harris are also candid in condemning the kind of Tory electioneering they describe as "their conventional politics"—the suggestion that it was really all about the idea was to reduce the differences between parties and focus instead on lifestyles of the leaders and candidates.

There isn't much connection between the provincial and Ontario Tories, except that now it's not quite so easy to write the federal Conservatives off. And Harris wants to keep away from any association with the Reform party because he believes that, for the first time, Tories ran in Tories, as opposed to pretending they were something else. "I see Harris as a tremendous manager of an enterprise that was in considerable difficulty," says Long. "He's very clear on getting the fundamental right, and he's prepared to take strong and intercontinental action to get there."

About the only side production in that, within six months, every blade of grass in the lawns in front of Queen's Park in downtown Toronto will be trampled into a pulp by a constant parade of protesters. Hugh Keefe's policy may be a popular prescription for free markets, but they are hard to swallow.

COVER

# How a poor Colombian became Canada's biggest drug baron—and got away

# THE COCAINE KING

BY PAUL KAHILA

The two-lane blacktop north of Medellín opens out into a mountain road so rugged that every so often it sounds as if the car is about to be ripped right out from under the car. It trembles steep hillsides in dark green foliage and columns of mist where the scent of sweet incense lingers in the moist tropical heat. The seductive Colombian scenery might lead a visitor into thinking that this is a laid-back Garden of Eden. But danger resides in the very soul of this idyllic Andean landscape, famous for growing the world's best coffee. Heavily armed guerrillas occasionally appear out of nowhere to kidnap wealthy tourists who do not return home unless hefty ransoms are paid. And even by the standards of Colombia—a country with a murder rate 30 times higher than Canada's—the region has a brutal history. Between 1986 and 1992, hundreds of bodies, apparent victims of the Norte Valley drug cartel, washed up on the shores of the nearby Cauca River. The bodies and limbs of many of them had been cut off with chainsaws.

In the midst of this toxic climate of violence and anarchy, here and there among the coffee plantations and peasant villages one can spot fancy estates owned by "narco" as they are commonly called in Colombia. Heavy landowners and drug



megabosses, they have acquired enormous wealth from the global bases in the cocaine trade that this country began building more than a decade ago. It is easy to recognize the mega-machos. They announce themselves with massive heavily fortified gates, swimming pools, private beachfront mansions and state-of-the-art security forces.

In 1989 after being most of his adult life in Canada, Bernardo de la Cruz Arzola transferred his base to one of them. Most Canadians know the name of Pablo Escobar, the cocaine boss of Colombia's Medellín cartel who was shot to death by Colombian soldiers in 1993. But few have heard of the man reputed to be the largest cocaine trafficker in Canada's history. The story of Bernardo Arzola, who turned 52 on July 2, reads like that of a Third

World Arché's whereabouts and activities. The multi-billionaire baron from Medellín juster now lives a reclusive life of luxury in Medellín and Colombia's central Magdalena Valley, where he owns several cattle ranches and raises large-headed Zebu cows. Two weeks ago, according to a local cattle grower who requested anonymity, Arzola was in the town of Puerto Valdivia, where no questions may be asked of a man named Escobar and a restaurant by the same name. While one former underworld associate estimates that Arzola is worth \$1 billion, no one seems able to determine the precise extent of his wealth. But one thing is clear: Arzola's lavish Colombian lifestyle, which includes several cars, four-wheel drive vehicles and mistresses, is largely funded by the profits he has

illegally funneled out of the Canadian economy.

What Canadians might find even more disconcerting is information obtained by Madson's suggesting that the middle-aged playboy is still shipping drugs to his former adopted country. Since 1989, the Metro Toronto police force's elite *Asesino* drug squad has arrested more than 200 people connected to Arzola's organization. But some agents believe that Arzola is still supplying other traffickers who have so far escaped detection. "Arzola has several reliable men here, and he is probably supplying them as we speak," says Det. Kevin Harkin of the *Asesino* squad. "They have an organization, but we have not been able to crack it." Indeed, in 1992, three years after Arzola left Toronto, the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration alerted the western friend of Pablo Escobar in a shipment of cocaine to Canada through Miami. And one

the valley containing the Los Alpes ranch, Arzola in Colombia (Arzola); the drug traffickers' compounds conceal themselves with heavily guarded gates.

World Scarface, but without the gratuitous violence and, so far, tragedy. Arzola arrived in Toronto from his native Colombia as an immigrant in 1972 with barely enough money to buy a one-way ticket home for his wife and son. Just as cocaine was becoming the trendy drug of the middle class in the United States, Arzola established an underworld network that imported thousands of tons of the once exotic narcotic into Canada. "He was clearly the biggest Canadian distributor of cocaine in our history," says James Lindsay, the main prosecutor of major drug cases at the federal justice department's Toronto office. "He was the supplier for Toronto and Montreal, and his organization reached as far as Newfoundland. He gave the Canadian market by leaps and bounds."

The RCMP and Metro Toronto police finally got the evidence—and the warrants—they needed to arrest Arzola in early 1989. But before they could act, he disappeared. Investigators later discovered that Arzola had fled to Colombia. Throughout the years, he had funnelled profits from his Canadian drug trade back to his homeland. And after his escape, the trafficker shamelessly liquidated his Canadian holdings—millions of dollars of investments in real estate and front companies—and spent those proceeds out of the country as well. With that, Canadian law enforcement officials lost track of Arzola. Six years later, they cannot say precisely where he is or what he is doing. Indeed, they frankly acknowledge losing ground to the search because Colombia's Constitution bans extradition to other countries.

But a wide-ranging Madson's investigation in Canada and Colombia has uncovered startling revelations

source who is intimately acquainted with Arzola's tactics and associates insists that it is common knowledge among drug dealers in Canada that Arzola did not leave Toronto. "It's not a coincidence," says Pizarro, a code name for a former cocaine importer whose testimony has helped to convict more than 180 traffickers in Canada, Miami and South America. "Arzola's drugs are still here. Everybody knows that."

The assertion is buttressed by evidence that Arzola is linked with several of Colombia's most powerful underworld figures, including Gilberto Rodríguez Orejuela, the Cali cartel boss apprehended by Colombian police on June 8 as part of a government crackdown on the drug barons (page 24). Fabio Castillo, an investigative reporter at Colombia's second-largest daily newspaper, *El Espectador*, and the author of two books on the Medellín cartel, is familiar with Arzola. He is nervous discussing Arzola, however, explaining succinctly: "He is a very dangerous man."

Given Arzola's apparent importance in Colombia's cocaine hierarchy, his criminal history and strong indications that he is still smuggling drugs in Canada, it is not surprising that some of the heads of five Colombian law-enforcement departments contacted by Madson's had never heard of Arzola, nor did they even know the size of his drug trafficking. In fact that neither the RCMP nor the federal police department has ever notified Colombian authorities of Arzola's history of drug trafficking and his operations in Colombia. One high-ranking Colombian official most of us only when approached by a Madson's reporter with documentation about Arzola's criminal career. "Mr. Arzola is a Colombian citizen, and he apparently



left: Canada for Colombia six years ago," said Fernando Maciel, the regional prosecutor of Medellín. "Why didn't Canada act up?"

Urrao is a small agricultural community nestled in the no-man's-land between Medellín, Colombia's second-largest city, and the Pacific Ocean. While Medellín was world famous as the center of the international cocaine trade until the death of Pablo Escobar in December 1993, the town of Urrao is known for granadilla, a scarlet yellow tropical fruit nicknamed "Colombian citrus." Urrao is also the birthplace of Bernardo Arcila. Raised there in a middle-class family—a surgeon's son, by Colombian standards—Arcila was a "hot girl with dark curly hair named Julia Escobar." Like her, she was born in 1945.

Life is known about the couple's early years together except that they had a son, Juan Fernando, in Medellín in 1967. Five years later, at the age of 19, Arcila married his young lady in Tumaco, declaring on his marriage application that he was a manual laborer. The three moved into a small apartment in a 12-story building near the University of Tumaco's downtown campus. Arcila's first job, and likely the only legitimate one he ever held in Canada, was delivering women as a truck driver for the Shogun's deli del bistro.

Arcila gravitated to Tumaco's small but growing Colombian community, whose members often gathered to watch soccer matches in a park called Cristo Pío. There, in about 1975, the truck driver had a fateful encounter. "He was kind of a nobody," Picano says, recalling his first impression of Arcila. "But he didn't smoke, drink or do drugs. He was clean."

That man, Arcila, a good acquaintance for employment among the town's cocaine-dealing business. For at the time, Picano was one of Tumaco's largest cocaine traffickers, and Arcila was gradually brought into his organization. At first, Arcila's gang simply used Arcila's apartment as a hiding place for cocaine, which earned him a few hundred dollars a time. But by the late 1970s, Arcila had graduated to the role of courier, printing up drugs in Medellín, flying them to Tumaco, and then to Urrao, where he was based in Miami. Arcila usually made one run a month, crossing the border with his wife in the family Volkswagen to create the appearance of a couple on a weekend getaway. He earned a commission of \$1,000 per kilo for his trouble. "He did it because the guy [Picano] was a nobody else," Picano says in a strong Spanish accent.

Picano first learned of Arcila in 1983, hearing from an informant that the informant was a middle-class cocaine dealer in cocaine. But by then, Arcila had already started his own crime life, directly importing several kilos of cocaine at a time from Picano's Miami contacts. "It didn't take him long to get bigger than me," says Picano, who is now in the federal justice department's witness protection program after becoming an informant. "By then, he was bigger than everyone in town. He was smart."

Arcila first made use of the most insightful decisions of his crime career. He went into business with the truth by going outside the Colombian underworld and tapping into a ready-made network of criminals prepared to distribute an illegal product, Arcila easily expanded the retail market for cocaine.

He forged his alliance with the Mafia through Diego Serrano, an Italian-born businessman now serving a 30-year drug trafficking sentence in Ontario's Joyceville Penitentiary. Serrano had links to



## ARCILA TAPPED INTO A VAST CRIMINAL NETWORK BY ALLYING WITH THE MAFIA

Colombian crime families in both Canada and Italy, but in 1983 he was in a bind. His partner in a booming business on the northern outskirts of Toronto had the perfect idea: a Canadian laundry and travel back to Italy without paying his share of the company's bills. Serrano lent bankruptcy and a \$500,000 demand loan from his hands when Arcila sent a messenger to offer him. According to Vincent DeBella, a former owner for Serrano who is also now in the witness protection program, Arcila gave Serrano the money to repay his loan. In return, Serrano allowed Arcila and his partners to launder money through his company—and then began importing cocaine directly from Miami with Arcila's loans, and selling it through his trash containers in Canada.

Arcila's other exceptional advantage in the cocaine business was that he had a great connection in Colombia—Pablo Escobar. At his peak in 1981, Escobar was worth an estimated \$3.3 billion, and the cartel he founded enjoyed annual revenues of more than \$4 billion. According to Picano, Escobar invited Arcila to meet him at his estate near Medellín in the early 1980s because the Canadian craved his

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At the same time, Arcila was enjoying his new wealth. "It was nothing for him to go to a jewelry store and drop thousands of dollars in a wheel," recalls Det. Steve Perkins. In fact, in 1984, Arcila spent \$25,000 at a jewelry shop alone in Toronto's Eaton Centre—paying \$8,000 cash for

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Colombian police walk by the body of a man killed by a bomb in Medellín. Arcila and compatriot Los Alpas (top left): a luxurious retreat

because such a big customer. Between 1983 and 1988, Arcila apparently traveled to Colombia regularly to see Escobar. "Bernardo used to get a phone call in Toronto and Pablo would say, 'You've got to get your ass over here in two or three days,'" recalls Picano. "It was more of a business relationship than a friendship."

By 1988, Arcila had a fleet of about 30 identical Toyota Tercels shuffling between Toronto and Miami, the hub of coke transshipments from Colombia to the eastern seaboard during the 1980s. Custom-built hidden compartments in the door pouches of the cars concealed cash and, for the future, up to 38 kilos of cocaine. The drugs were sealed in packages coated with grease to throw off police dogs at the border. And if each kilo was sold for the going price of \$100 per gram on the street, that made each carload worth about \$3 million. Picano had Arcila and his associates under surveillance, but the criminals carried out operations by constantly switching cars and using coders when discussing business.

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## WHY CANADA IS A SOFT TOUCH

Many Canadian police and prosecutors have long maintained that Canada is a haven for international drug traffickers. Some even claim that drug dealers based in other countries go out of their way to hold meetings in Canada because the country's sentencing provisions and parole rules are less severe than those in the United States. Perhaps the most striking example of Canada's leniency is the case of Diego Serrano, an ex-convict of cocaine kingpin Bernardo Arcila. Serrano's syndicate imported into Canada, according to the most conservative police estimates, more than 12,000 kg of cocaine, worth an estimated \$148 million. Last November, Serrano received a sentence of 10 years in prison, with an extra two years if he did not pay a \$500,000 fine. But Serrano, one of the biggest narcotics traffickers in Canadian history, may be free as early as March 2, 1994, the day he is eligible for full parole.

The prosecutor in the case, James Lesing, says that Serrano's sentence is about the best he could get "with in the realm of the possible under Canadian law." The points at the upper range for prison sentences in such cases is about 22 years. Serrano, however, pleaded guilty, for which the Toronto judge imposed a sentence by about a quarter. Furthermore, he had spent about three years in custody prior to his conviction, according to standard sentencing practices, that shaved six years off his jail term. By the time Serrano is freed, he will likely have served about seven years, "which is just about the most you can get against any trafficker in Canada," says Lesing.

Indeed, even if the courts had handed Serrano a life sentence, says Lesing, that would still leave him eligible for parole after seven years. The National Parole Board routinely grants early release to drug traffickers because most are deemed to be nonviolent offenders. That is why several of Serrano's co-conspirators have already been freed.

Lesing is convinced that if Serrano had been convicted in the United States, he would be spending the rest of his life in jail. The reason: Serrano's eight years of sentencing would constitute what U.S. law calls a "maximum criminal sentence"—a term of at least three drug offenses. The crime, which does not exist in Canada, carries a mandatory life sentence with no chance of parole if the accused is the leader of an organized crime. Serrano was named substantial risk profile, another marked difference in the United States is that the discretion of judges has been severely limited in drug cases by a legislated schedule of minimum sentences. For instance, possession of 15 kilos of cocaine requires a judge to sentence the offender to at least 12 years in prison. If the offender, by comparison, from August 1993 was sentenced to Toronto to 15 years in prison in April, for example, to traffic 1,300 kilos of cocaine—and was paroled from Kingston Penitentiary two weeks ago after serving less than five years.

Lenient penalties mean that Canada is not well equipped to break up drug rings, says David McGee, an ex-convict U.S. attorney in Toronto who, like Serrano, has won several trafficking convictions in Canada. "Given the vast profits, four or five years in prison is not a deterrent," says McGee. "These are plenty of people who are willing to do that time for a million dollars." Concludes Lesing: "I like the American system much better."

P.J.L.



watch. Police also later discovered that Arcila had begun amassing real estate between 1985 and 1988. He purchased at least seven condominiums in Toronto and the cottage lots near Georgian Bay. He already owned a bookstore and several houses, and was a partner in an automobile park, a motorcycle and Serrano's do-it-yourself factory—businesses he and his partners used to launder drug profits. Perhaps the peak of Arcila's profanity came in early 1989, when he walked into a developer, Toronto's Mercedes Braun, and dealing and phoned down \$50,000 in cash for a customized black sedan.

But the most Colombian drug dens in Canada, Arcila sent most of his money out of the country. In 1984, Arcila purchased the first of several homes, or ranches, in the areas of Medellín, Antioquia and nearby Evidiana, where farmers have cultivated coffee for three centuries. He selected a ranch in Frediano's Zúñiga district called Las Alpes, Spanish for "The Alps," as his main retreat. He built a luxury two-bedroom house on the site with a good location, a view up the valley and a hill that he filled with cattle and horses. Arcila decided to show off by having several associates from Toronto to Las Alpes, and even made a home video to serve for friends and family back in Toronto. In it, his half brother Jorge Arcila, describes how Fernando planned to build a second house, an artificial lake and a tennis court on the estate.

According to a high-ranking Colombian intelligence source, Arcila also purchased large ranches in the Frediano area called La Virgen, La Piedra and Berbero, establishing a holding company named Inverness Murphy and licensed his drug profits through a luxury business at the Medellín bus terminal in partnership with the drug czar's chief money launderer.

In addition, local residents say that Arcila acquired a ranch beside Los Alpes called La Robancia, and a white-washed villa with a red Spanish-tile roof and 80 acres of fields in nearby Medellín. He purchased real estate in Medellín as well. A Toronto drug dealer who visited Arcila in 1985 recalls that the gangster had two adjacent houses in Medellín that were linked by a tunnel—a convenient escape route in the event of a police raid or a kidnapping attempt by rivals. And according to Canadian police, Arcila financed his Colombian properties with continued loads of high-profit goods from the Art Shop, a Toronto furniture store that caters to the wealthy.

Back in Toronto, authorities finally received news that they thought came from Arcila. On Nov. 30, 1988, an undercover officer observed him leading a life of cocaine in a low-ranking courier. But senior investigators gawked, and postponed arresting Arcila because that would have raised exposure a costly two-year undercover operation that was also gathering evidence on dozens of Arcila's associates. The infamous Zúñiga family came on Nov. 14, 1989. Six associates were arrested. But Arcila was not among them. When police raided his bookstore, finally home and two brothers, he was gone. Detectives in Toronto's Colombian community, few people know what has happened to Arcila since that day. "He had good contacts," says prosecutor Leving. "We knew the net was closing, and I guess he had a place to go."

This place was Las Alpes. The estate is approached along a humpy gravel road where old trees with wrinkled faces and bad teeth still man-



## MONEY CONTINUED TO POUR IN FROM CANADA EVEN AFTER ARCILA FLED THE COUNTRY

guards for the cows, rice, and potatoes before the police involvement, a tin of dried chili of rice, beans and pork. Los Alpes is hidden from the main public road by a mountain, and can be reached only by a private driveway that stretches about the talus slopes. The driveway runs like a long, winding set of concrete terraces that end at a gate. Armed outside an intimidating security force are several "guards and workers" cubans, inside the fence are berbering goats and carefully landscaped grounds.

Locals know little of Arcila's past. In fact, he is seen there as a great humanitarian and philanthropist. And a few employees working at an attractive teenage girl who jumped down from a pickup truck carrying schoolchildren and stood in front of the entrance to Los Alpes. Asked if the estate is her home, she responded with a shy smile. "Oh, I wish I could one day own such a beautiful place." Her family, we're told, Arcila, she got explained, adding, "He is a nice boss. He is very generous."

Within months of fleeing Canada in drug charges, "Don Arcila," as locals respectfully call him, gave the nearby town of Medellín about \$500,000 to build a new cemetery and chapel. That is a considerable donation in a country where the annual per capita income in 1992, about one-seventeenth that in Canada. The chapel, which has a bell tower and seating for a small congregation, is surrounded by only about a dozen graves so far. But its outer grounds—protected by a high perimeter fence—sit on a choice lot with a stunning view of the Cauca River valley. Indeed, the local priest, Mario Mejía Escobar, paid tribute to Arcila by permanently fixing an engraved plaque to the front of the chapel that read: "The Church at Medellín is grateful to Mr. Fernando Arcila who generously under-

possible the construction of this cemetery." A short while later, Arcila once again demonstrated his beneficence—by donating more than \$80,000, made up, in complete construction of the church in the village of Bete, Frio, between Medellín and Frediano. "He is a very rich man, and people love him because he built a church for us," says Juan Quintana, the white-

owned owner of a small bar and grocery store a few steps from the place of worship. "He helped many ways with money."

Although the locals might not have known it, that money continued to pour in from the Canadian cocaine market even after Arcila fled Toronto in 1989. Upon his departure, he put his right-hand man, Serrano, in charge of his operations. During a three-year period, Serrano and his associates smuggled an estimated 12,000 kilos of cocaine into Canada. According to police, and court testimony by DiBello, Arcila took unpaid much of that contraband and earned commissions from its distribution—and police arrested Serrano and more than two dozen accomplices in 1991.

The profits apparently left Arcila with so much money that he can still afford to give it away. According to a former in March, Arcila recently gave his improved half brother, Jorge, a local company that manufactures cement blocks and interlocking bricks. "I haven't seen him in a long time," Jorge said when approached by a Montreal reporter outside his office. "I don't want to talk about him too much." Arcila has also made a tradition of sending out presents of cash and money to families in Zúñiga at Christmas. "He is very rich," said Mejía, an eight-year-old peasant girl carrying a bag of



■ Settling through crops in Colombia: the chapel and cemetery that Arcila built in the town of Medellín (left): a "rich man"

tropical land on the roadside in Zúñiga. "He has many cars, houses and people working for him."

He has many money, too, according to a high-ranking Colombian intelligence source. And that fact, which Arcila also displayed in Toronto, led to the breaking of his marriage last year. Arcila occasionally gave his La Robancia and Las Alpes ranches to his wife, Lidia, and sold two houses in the area. Neighbors say that Lidia Arcila continues to live in Las Alpes with the couple's son, Juan, now 26, and their 17-year-old daughter, Gloria. Last week, a cousin named Freddy answered the phone at the ranch, but said that none of the Arcilas were available. Messages for them went unanswered.

Acquaintances say that Arcila now spends most of his time at several ranches he owns in Caracas and Puerto Vallarta, resort on the coast highway between Medellín and the Atlantic coast town of Cartagena. Neighbors near Arcila's Caribbean ranch in Puerto Vallarta confirm that the auro was there two or three times a month. Four of Arcila's brothers—Mario, Jaime, Fernando and Carlos—in the ranch and restaurant, which has a doublewide and beachfront, and a swimming pool. The brothers also run a small tax business for their wealthy spouse.

While locals in that town say that Arcila made a luxurious home in Medellín his principal residence, the Colombian intelligence official says that Arcila's main base is in Planeta Rica, a town north of

Ciudad Guayaquil. Arcila apparently has a large ranch there, where he raises the heads of Zebu cattle, a hump-backed variety well adapted to tropical heat. According to Colombian experts, the farm's location tends to confirm reports that Arcila is linked to the organization of Fajal, Casanra, a worked whose pseudonym troops around the area, also known as the central 50. Magdalena Valley and all of the area who have been ranchers. Reported to have been killed in a shoot-out with the Colombian army this spring. Casanra founded the FETES, a Spanish army for "Evacuado by Pablo Escobar" in the early 1980s. According to sources both in Canada and Bogotá, Arcila turned against Escobar and became an informant for the FETES, which killed dozens of Medellín cartel leaders.

Another Colombian source says that Arcila works with a gangster whose code name is Number 28 in an ongoing turf war in Medellín that has killed several of Escobar's former lieutenants. The gangster is believed to be a relative of Roldán Guevara, who was Escobar's military adviser and the architect of a 1988 massacre in which 11 victims were killed at a possible party by machine-guns in his company. A senior Colombian official also believes that Arcila has been working with the Medellín cartel while Escobar was still alive. Those reports surfaced in a January 1993, police raid on the Cali group showed that Arcila was in direct contact with cartel boss Gilberto Rodríguez Orejuela months before Escobar was killed.

Despite the fact that some Colombian officials are critical of their country's courts for not sharing the results of their investigations, the justice department's leniency is unapologetic. In an interview, he hinted that he had little faith in Colombian law enforcement. "Would they have actually done something about it?" Leving asked. "We say no." Added Leving, who has won convictions against more than a dozen of Arcila's co-conspirators. "One of the problems in the case was that we should go back and take a look at Arcila. But I didn't want to put the investigation into jeopardy. If we didn't have a body, and we didn't have any assets that he could seize. They had all been liquidated."

Although a warrant remains in force throughout Canada for Arcila's arrest on a drug-trafficking charge, a 1991 amendment to the Colombian Constitution—a key demand of cartel leaders—bars extradition. And even if Colombian authorities had been notified by their Canadian counterparts, it is unclear whether they would have pursued Arcila vigorously in a country where citizens often regard it as an exception where a public official is not exempt. Extradition is rampant as well. So many judges, politicians and prosecutors have been assassinated by the cartels that major criminal trials now have to be conducted by "fictional" judges who sit behind one-way glass so that the accused cannot identify them.

In addition, many are as frustrated in Colombia that it is even difficult for police to locate a man who Arcila by looking up at driver's license. Such records are neither computerized nor controlled, and many Colombians simply drive without a license or obtain one under a false name. It is also easy for drug dealers to hide their holdings by registering them in the names of doctors or musicians. Cal's son, Roldán Guevara, a high-ranking associate of Medellín's one block from the park where a terrorist bomb killed 28 people and wounded 203 in June 11, is not surprised that he has never heard of Arcila. "There are so many of them," he says, shaking his head as he studies a photograph of the man.

Because of the deaths of informants, several mysteries remain about Arcila. How much is the man really worth? Is he as powerful as some suspect. He is still involved in the cocaine trade, how much is he shipping and how is he doing it? And finally, even if Arcila cannot be extradited to Canada, can he at least be brought to justice in Colombia? Medellín's Fernando Mejía, whose he's still guarded at all times is responsible for drug prosecutions in five provinces, seems as new as getting the answers to these questions. "With these facts you are giving us, we will start an investigation and get in touch with Colombian judges," he promises. "I believe it's a Medellín mystery." Mr. Arcila for illegal enrichment because his money seems to have come from the drug trade. Six years after his flight from Canada, though, Arcila continues to live the high life from illicit drug profits made in his former adopted country. □



■ Escobar, "more of a business relationship than a kinship"

In 1996, according to Colombian Defense Minister Fernando Botero, a straightforward if not simple mission to "disrupt, dismantle and destroy" the so-called Cali cartel, a band of wary Colombian drug traffickers who earned an estimated \$200.7 billion last year by controlling 80 per cent of the world's cocaine trade. In recent months, the Colombian government has achieved an after task force, now numbering some 9,000 police officers and soldiers, to raid the houses and headquarters of cartel leaders. It has also flooded the nation's airports with offers of lucrative rewards for informants leading to arrests, while promising lighter jail sentences to drug traffickers who surrender before they are captured. The crackdown has scored some stunning successes, including the June 8 arrest of Gilberto Rodríguez Orejuela, one of two brothers who headed the cartel. But it also triggered an astonishing round of violence, most notably the explosion of a five-allegedly have made tough in Medellín the day after Rodríguez's arrest, which killed 39 people and injured more than 200 others gathered in a downtown park for a weekend of music festival.

The recent bloodshed—which authorities blame on



Gilberto Rodríguez Orejuela after his arrest: a cartel boss

## Colombia's pursuit of drug lords sparks violence

# COCAINE CRACKDOWN

urban militia groups working at the behest of drug traffickers—has also included a bombing at the national legislature in Bogotá and the assassination of at least two high-ranking police officers. For many Colombians, such attacks have revived memories of the bad old days of the late 1980s and early 1990s, when the widely feared Medellín cartel, under the leadership of the notorious Pablo Escobar, waged a reign of terror. Openly challenging the authority of the Colombian government, the Medellín cartel blew up a civilian airliner with more than 300 passengers aboard, murdered more than 200 judges and 1,000 police officers, and assassinated an attorney general, a justice minister and three presidential candidates. The campaign of violence finally ended in December, 1993 when Escobar died in a fusillade of army machine-gun fire in Medellín following its 18-month manhunt.

Escobar's death may have crippled his cartel, but it barely eased a ripple in the flow of illegal drugs from Colombia. Instead, his longtime rivals from Cali, 350 km southwest of Medellín, stepped into the breach. Led by the Rodríguez brothers, the Cali cartel struggled to put a more civilized veneer on a cutthroat trade. They used their drug profits to infiltrate and influence the government rather than terrorize it. (Colombia's president general is currently investigating charges that the Cali cartel paid bribes to, among others, the country's attorney general, the president of the house of representatives and 34 other members of congress.) The new drug lords also plowed money into a host of legitimate activities and philanthropic causes. Cocaine profits, in fact, have been used to restore churches, build medical clinics and even bankroll the

conservation of neighborhood police posts to help reduce street crime. The all of that, the Cali leaders can be every bit as brutal as their Medellín counterparts. Among those who surrendered to police last month was Henry Loaiza Ceballos, who is accused of overseeing the cartel's military operations. In the Cauca River area north of Cali, Loaiza is renowned for sponsoring music concerts, beauty contests and an annual police visit festival. Nicknamed "The Scorpion," he is also widely feared as the man who, in 1994, oversaw the torture and killing of more than 300 peasants after they tried to form a union. As a warning to others, Loaiza, who owned a ranch in the area, allegedly detected that the bodies of the vanquished peasants had not up with chastises and charged in the Cauca River.

Colombia's crackdown on the Cali cartel followed intense pressure from the United States government, which threatened in March to impose trade sanctions and cut off economic aid if the drug barons were not brought to justice. But despite the recent flurry of activity, American officials remain skeptical of their praise of the Colombian military—part because of long-standing suspicions that the brothers of corruption reach into the most senior levels of the country's government. U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Robert Gelfand recently described the arrest of the drug lords as an "excellent start," but told reporters that Washington would be watching closely to see that those convicted receive real jail terms, forfeit their ill-gotten assets and are sent to "real prisons"—the latter a pointed reference to the lax incarceration of inmates in the early 1980s in a canteen-bank facility popular with a drug-war bad, provide both and justice.

There are also doubts that the war against the Cali cartel will do much to impede the international flow of illegal drugs—including the 7,000 tons of cocaine, with a street value of about \$250 million, that the RCMP seized in Seattle in 1994. Most of that cocaine comes from Colombia, that Aspen Search, an analyst with the RCMP's criminal intelligence branch in Ottawa, says that even if the Cali cartel is broken, other groups—born in Colombia and countries such as Peru, Brazil and Bolivia—will fill the void. "The cocaine cartels are highly resilient," adds Smith. "You cut off one head and another head grows back very quickly." For anyone looking for a quick victory in the drug wars, it is a sobering analysis.

NIRAN FREEMAN with RICHARD EMMETT in Bogotá

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# Prescription for hope

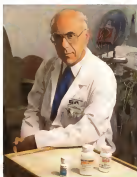
When he was 10 years old, Michael Duffett decided going to school. His classmates were that he suffered from epilepsy would treat him accordingly, calling him "Tim" and taunting him until he fainted out in a classroom of anger. And that was only one of many epilepsy-related problems that held him back at school and tied him more tightly to his home in Brampton, Ont. Over the years, Duffett endured thousands of seizures and a worrying byzantine series of drugs, many with unpleasant side effects. But since he began taking one of three promising new drugs for epilepsy in late 1993, the seizures have stopped—and he has been able to start rebuilding his life. "It's been my miracle," says Duffett, now 25. "Now I can go where I want to, when I want to."

The new drugs—Vigabatrin, Lamotrigine and Gabapentin—finally give Canada's 280,000 epileptics hope for more normal lives. Talking in the more common neurological disorder after headache, affecting more than one per cent of the population. It has been little understood until this century, and its signs—associated with past fears of demon possession or epilepsy powerful. A seizure can unfold in a disorienting experience in seconds. But it is even more distressing for epileptics themselves, most of whom do not even tell their employers about their condition because they fear a negative reaction.

Likened to an epileptic seizure, the onset of a seizure can be either partial (restricted to one area of the brain) or generalized (affecting the entire brain). Caused by a sudden overload of electrical activity related to excessive discharges by nerve cells, its symptoms range from something called the "aura" or "pre-aural sensation" (phantom smells or tastes) to a sensation of dizziness to loss of consciousness and violent muscle contractions. When used with other anticonvulsants, the new drugs can reduce seizures far more effectively than older drugs, with fewer side effects. Dr. Alan Guberman, professor of medicine at the University of Ottawa and director of the epilepsy clinic at the Ottawa General Hospital, says that repeated studies have shown the new drugs to be effective. "In the past, some patients responded to clobazam," said Guberman. "But now they can even be seizure-free."

Approved by the federal Health Protection Branch last February, Lamotrigine is produced by Swiss pharmaceutical Burroughs Wellcome

*New drugs can help many epileptics lead normal lives*



Drugs: surgery aimed epileptics seizures

and is effective across a broad spectrum of seizures. It works by reducing the release of excitatory amino acids in the brain, especially glutamate. Gabapentin, approved a year earlier, is manufactured by McNeil-Biotronics. Unlike Duffett, although research into how Gabapentin works is incomplete, it appears to alter nerve cell metabolism, cutting the frequency of seizures in half for as many as 30 per cent of patients. The drug that has interested Duffett—Vigabatrin—increases the brain's concentration of GABA, an inhibitory neurotransmitter and is more effective than the other two drugs for partial onset seizures.

Still, the long-term effects of the new drugs are not entirely known. The man who cannot Vigabatrin development, Dr. John Maudsley of the German pharmaceutical giant Hoechst Marone Bioware, cautions that although studies looking into side effects are being

conducted around the world, epilepsy drug research is necessarily slow going. Because each brain is slightly different biochemically, scientists must test themselves in seemingly endless ways. As a result, doctors may vary widely, and a drug that is suitable for one patient may not be for another. "You can never know all about a drug," says Maudsley.

Duffett was in the past faced the side-effects of drugs as debilitating as his seizures, has experienced none since taking Vigabatrin, other users of the medication have reported depression. For those on the other two drugs, the known side effects are also rare—possibly a skin rash with Lamotrigine, and fatigue and nausea with Gabapentin. More worrisome, according to Guberman, is expense: the new drugs cost twice as much as previous treatments, and monthly bills can be as high as \$300 or more.

"The price is awful," says Marion Stinson, whose epilepsy began 18 years ago after she fell down a flight of stairs. Until she started taking Gabapentin last January, Stinson—46, a former nurse from Blenheim, had averaged 24 seizures a month. Now she is seizure-free—and says that the drug is worth the cost. "It has changed my life 100 per cent," says Stinson, who recently decided to get back into nursing. "I'm able to function again as a human being."

But for people with partial onset epilepsy who do not respond to medical therapy, an effective alternative can be brain surgery. Since the groundbreaking work of Dr. Wilder Penfield in the 1930s, surgeons at Montreal Neurological Institute have gained a worldwide reputation, improving their technique to the point where, during a procedure in which the patient remains conscious, the affected part of the brain can be removed. While the majority of patients see substantial improvement, for those receiving a seizure per week there is a 25 per cent chance of being seizure-free. It is improved by the new drugs, Dr. Joseph Williamson, head of neurology at Toronto's Wilfrid Hospital and a leading authority on epilepsy, also recommends surgery for severely affected patients. "For those, the surgery has a better chance of eliminating seizures."

At 14,000 new cases of epilepsy are diagnosed in Canada each year, medical research continues. But Maudsley says scientists should be looking for more than simply a cure. "We have to do research for a cure. Many patients in USA living, which may lead to a cure by identifying the mechanism by which seizures might begin. "Epilepsy is the symptom, not the disease," Maudsley says. And for those whose seizures continue despite the new drugs, a cure could come soon enough.

LUKE FRISCH



Fraser (left), Auerbach, St. George-Hyslop, first step

defect on the 14th chromosome—one of the 24 inherited gene clusters stored in the nucleus of each human cell—lays an important role in early-onset Alzheimer's. As a first step in finding the gene, the Canadian researchers examined genetic inheritance patterns in a number of large families with long histories of inherited Alzheimer's. Their goal was to identify genetic "markers" that would point to the gene's location. By 1994, the team had narrowed the search to a region on the chromosome containing several hundred genes.

At that point, the gene discovery decision to end whether the ethnic makeup of some of the large families they were studying—including Jewish American and Italian families, as well as an eastern Canadian family of Anglo-Saxon Celtic extraction—would be used to narrow the search.

"We assumed," said St. George-Hyslop, "that each of these families would have a single ancestor with the flawed gene, and that they would carry genetic markers inherited from that ancestor in the region of the gene we were looking for." In several of the families, telltale patterns did emerge, and although they were different in each family, they pointed to the same genetic location. By testing genetic material from brain tissue taken from Alzheimer's victims, U of T medical geneticists Johannes Rotstein and Richard Berman reduced the number of suspect genes to 14.

Further tests and a process of elimination narrowed the list to seven genes. Finally, one gene—called S182—emerged as the villain. "This gene showed mutations specific to people with the disease," St. George-Hyslop said, "and it predicted the presence of the disease. At that point, we had solid evidence."

With the cloning of the gene, the stage is now set for another race as scientists try to understand the function of gene S182. The protein produced by the gene was previously known as Presenilin, a product of the U of T team. "It is a membrane protein which builds either the outside coating or some internal structure in cells." Understanding the gene's function, said St. George-Hyslop, is likely to be significant not only for early-onset Alzheimer's, but for all forms of the disease. For now, however, co-senior director of the Alzheimer's Society of Canada, he felt that the gene has been identified "is tremendously important, because it gives hope to people that progress is being made in understanding this terrible disease."

MARK NICHOLS

## An Alzheimer's clue

Frances Hodger was only 47 when Alzheimer's disease began to destroy her brain. The first symptoms appeared in 1973, when her memory began to fail. By the early 1980s, she could no longer talk, and in 1984 she entered a nursing home, where she remained until her death four months ago. Although most victims of the type of Alzheimer's that strikes the relatively young die within 10 years, Frances had lived with the disease for 20.

"She just lived with it, and her general husband, Toronto businessman Bruce Hodger. To the world, she was a vegetable, but to me she was still Frances—always being with her own values." Despite the studies that scientists have made during the past decade in understanding an illness that affects more than 250,000 Canadians, Alzheimer's remains a baffling disease for which there are few effective treatments—and no cure. Last week there was at least a glimmer of hope in a dramatic breakthrough. University of Toronto scientists revealed in the *Journal of Neural Science* that they had cloned a gene that is responsible for most cases of early-onset Alzheimer's. The discovery was hailed as a major finding that could lead eventually to ways of intervening to slow or halt the ravages of the disease.

It also means that, in the future, a blood test will be used to detect the presence of the earliest gene, which can cause Alzheimer's in people as young as 20. In its more widespread form, Alzheimer's usually strikes after the age of 65 and is thought to be caused by

both genetic and environmental factors. The early-onset form is caused by inheritance alone. Before the latest discovery, scientists had identified two other Alzheimer-related genes, but neither seemed the way to new treatments. The new finding may hold more promise. Even though the early-onset form of Alzheimer's is relatively rare—it is probably responsible for fewer than 10 per cent of all cases—the newly discovered gene is likely to shed light on the processes underlying all cases of Alzheimer's.

"It's like a key," said Dr. Christopher Phelps, who co-ordinates research programs at the U of T National Institute on Aging in Bethesda, Md., "that might help us to prevent or slow the development of Alzheimer's."

It could take several more years to determine what role the gene plays. But Dr. Peter St. George-Hyslop, the geneticist and neurologist who led the U of T team, speculated that a protein controlled by the gene could play a key part in producing a substance called amyloid, which attacks and kills brain cells in Alzheimer's victims. If that proves to be the case, added St. George-Hyslop, "we can begin to look for ways to stop the metabolism from producing this substance."

By cloning the gene, the U of T team was a major scientific feat that began three years ago. Almost simultaneously, but laboratory and two other labs discovered that a genetic

*Canadians find a key to a cruel disease*

which builds either the outside coating or some internal structure in cells." Understanding the gene's function, said St. George-Hyslop, is likely to be significant not only for early-onset Alzheimer's, but for all forms of the disease. For now, however, co-senior director of the Alzheimer's Society of Canada, he felt that the gene has been identified "is tremendously important, because it gives hope to people that progress is being made in understanding this terrible disease."

# Canada's hoop dreams

The two new NBA teams shook their rosters

The marketing gurus of the National Basketball Association did what they do best last week: They signed the first annual deal of college players into a trade-for-TV spectacle, complete with starlighting, exploding fire-

works and scantily clad dancers. They dressed up Toronto's Sky Dome like a gameshow studio, with team representatives seated on a tiered stage ringed by flashing spotlights. Among the stars of the show—the sought-after collegians—were quarterbacked back-  
 courters, seriously winning who would draft them and, ultimately, have every col-  
 lege they would make. But for Canada's two new NBA entries—the Vancouver Grizzlies and Toronto Raptors—the marketing game was unnecessary. The col-  
 lege draft on June 28—along with the expansion draft four days earlier, in which the new franchises picked from a thin pool of other teams' out-of-favour players—will actually pick actual players from their respective clubs and rosters. "So much went into getting to this point," said Grizzlies owner Arthur Griffiths. "This is a big night for us."

The college draft—held outside the United States for the first time—was an important development for basketball across Canada. In a highly-crazed country, kids have been increasingly playing—and watching—the game that was invented by Canadian James Naismith in 1891. And the arrival of the two NBA teams is expected to lead the boom. But the new teams are unlikely to be championship contenders for several years, even under the best-case scenario drawn by their general managers—the Grizzlies' Sco Jackson and Raptors' Rafe Thomas. They have even warned their draft choices to prepare for lean times. "We are going to ride our lamps," admitted Toronto Stadium owner, the Raptors' Bob Jack.

So, actually, might all the NBA's players. Last month, the league and the players' association negotiated a tentative collective agreement. But the players association never put the deal to a vote. And as the day of the draft, a group of players and agents are trying to determine the players' position on an antitrust suit against the league, claiming the draft is illegal because the previous collective agreement had capped. The league responded in July by backing the players out. According to NBA deputy commissioner Russ Granik, grievous



Stadiums; Raptors (below): new lack of



senior team against the league have all failed, but the declassification could create confusion and leave the league without a collective agreement. "The players lost a tough decision," Granik said. "If they refuse to declassify, the next season is very much at risk."

Still, the draft is a watershed day for the top-ranked collegians. As the first pick overall, Joe Smith, the great Maryland forward who is the seventh child of a single working mother, was crowned as such at \$20 million over three years from his new team, the Golden State Warriors. "The next year is about looking after mom, making sure she's financially OK," he said. Some-what lesser worthies—still in the million-dollar range—went Stoudemire and Bryant Reeves, the Grizzlies' top selection with a winning center known as "Big Country." Drafting went among the 29 NBA teams. Vancouver grabbed the seven-foot, 290-pounder from Oklahoma State University—their selected Syracuse guard Lawrence Miles in the second round. Reeves and Jackson, "given as nice, excellent shooting skills, solid passing, soft hands and, perhaps most important, a person's work ethic." Reeves is aware that he will have to improve his game to compete successfully against the top NBA centers. "I'll be thrown into the mix right away," he growled. "So I'll have to grow up fast."

Toronto's decision to select Stoudemire, a rising but untested recruit (five years, 10 inches) point guard from the University of Arizona, surprised the 20 NBA fans at SkyDome, most of whom had been calling for forward Ed O'Bannon from the University of California at Los Angeles. (The team also chose Michigan guard Jimmy King in the second round) But the Raptors' Thomas—a legendary point guard in his playing days with the Detroit Pistons—likes to vary from the usual script. "We are new," he said. "We can try to be more innovative, take more risks." And Raptors coach Brendan Malone said of Stoudemire: "Don't let his size fool you. He's very smart. He has the ability to break down defenses, and that's what you have to have."

Stoudemire and Reeves will be instant fixtures on their new teams, but the rest of the roster remains up in the air. Five of the draft players selected in the expansion draft are expected to sit out for the two teams when next season begins. Some are free agents and will go where they wish; others may retire or be cut. And the biggest water in that draft—good 3-4 Armstrong, noted by Toronto—is expected to be traded. But Armstrong and his colleagues will not be playing anywhere unless they resolve their differences with the league.

JAMES DEACON

## SPORTS WATCH



# A second-guesser's guide to basketball

BY TRENT FRAYNE

Big-time basketball comes to Canada in November, two-legged gophers smothering up and down the hard-wood in Vancouver and Toronto teams to them the strongest to dunk 200 points per game. Talk about patchwork battles. In all the hoopla surrounding the recent draft of players to stock the Grizzlies and the Raptors, a great deal of attention was paid to the forwards and head ones who came north, and too little to the team's play. Nobody raised a corner as well to second-guess.

Second guessing is a key aspect of every sport. Unlike coaches, fans never have a losing season. They are too smart. You are a team loss three or four in a row and it is because the coach is a dumbbell. A fan would have dear things right although for some perverse reason likes pay to get in and coaches make \$500,000 a year.

The thing is, though, fans have to know what to second-guess. Canada fans know hockey and baseball well enough that any one of them could regale the home crowd and lead the downed Red Wings in the Stanley Cup, or take Felipe Alou's job in Montreal and guide the Expos to the World Series. But pro basketball is different. We aren't familiar enough with it yet. We can't sit at home and say, "No wonder that team is losing; look at the coach's haircut." No, we've got to say something like, "Hey, Patrick! Where's the full-court press?"

Until everybody got sick of basketball, it was the (ideal) game for second-guessers. The Toronto Blue Jays began life slowly in 1977, and fans had nearly a decade to learn the game while Red Griffls was painstakingly fitting together the pieces. By the 1980s, tens of thousands of fans knew the game better than did Griffls or the manager, Cito Gaston, and had second-guessed them to two World Series championships, so credit to fans with players like Griffls provided. Cito aimed under the criticism of the (unworldly) Cooper Stangis, who called with it. "I could've

Unlike coaches, real fans never have a losing season. They are too smart. If a team loses three or four in a row, the coach is a dumbbell.

have done it." Of course, coached at a dinner honoring has 30 payments in 12 years as "Yankee manager," without the players."

Still, as I say, basketball is different, and fans aren't sure in what areas coaches need to be second-guessed. Accordingly, it becomes necessary to speak to the safe side of the great minds of hoops in this country. This is the undebatable workhorse, Jack Donahue, from the Bronx, N.Y., patterned by Red Griffls Canada a quarter of a century ago to give this country respectable teams for its professional competition on Jack just the job done, talking coaching around the globe, coaching and calling after-dinner speeches (but before drinks, no, wherever he could catch a set of lips).

The question put to the master went something like this, "What does a basketball coach do?" "Well, he's got to know that the game is no longer his life. Now, there's a lot of coaches the game has passed them by."

Still, not everything is bleak for the mangled breed. Jack points out that coaches of all ages, styles and personalities can ever come every second-guesser, whether from the front office or the cheap seats. "All you have to do is win," Jack says. It is winning.

"So they should pick that guy?" "When the season starts, there's the style of play. Tempo is the key word. If the coach produces an up-tempo offence, second-guessers want to know why he doesn't slow down the pace. If the tempo is deliberate, they wonder where it fits best." "Jack, period of your agent's personality?" "You know about tempo?" "Tempo?" said your agent brightly. "Yeah, working together, co-ordinating. Some coaches don't understand about tempo, and a true second-guesser will spit that. You've got to have the right combinations playing together. A true coach has to get on the floor. It's sitting on the bench."

"Of course," I said, "tempo?" "As in my sport, people who pay to watch can second-guess the coach if it is too tough as his players (bored) the team is losing. Hockey fans can estimate the record of Mike Biehl, the toughest old player who ever turned to coaching a guy who played 3,500 minutes in the penalty boxes of pro hockey's lower machine and hoped his fire-and-ferocious approach would work when kindly old Harold Ballard hired him to run the Toronto Maple Leafs. It didn't, and after a season and a half he was gone. Being very paid too aggressive and the second-guessers, including his family old employer, scared at the standings and knew it instantly."

On the other hand, a coach is always second-guessed if he isn't tough enough (and a loss). Two years prior to the hiring of Mike Biehl, I said, "If I hired him, I'd hire Roger Norstine, as the local coach. Biehl was (and is) a quaternary student of the game, one of the very first coaches to utilize the technology of computers and video-tape. Roger hated two seasons, by which time the second-guessers, including his own player, were uncertain in coaching that he wasn't aggressive enough. (Second-guessing does not have to make sense.)"

Now, returning to his favorite game, Jack points out that basketball fans do not need to attend a lot of games to be smart enough to second-guess. "You can participate on a weekly basis, and you can be a fan. It's not a guy is sitting on the bench, a never-second-guesser can observe that the coach isn't going this guy enough playing time. Basketball is a game for tall guys, right? So why is the thing leaving the tall guy out?"

Now, money in our game is not magical. People who merely read the papers or listen to the voices on sports radio make excellent second-guessers when they're die-hard fans the Raptors or the Grizzlies.

"Yes," Jack concludes, "if there are a few veteran players on an expansion club, a fan knows that those players that the game is no longer his life. Now, there's a lot of coaches the game has passed them by." "Still, not everything is bleak for the mangled breed. Jack points out that coaches of all ages, styles and personalities can ever come every second-guesser, whether from the front office or the cheap seats. "All you have to do is win," Jack says. It is winning.



Ireland: "modeling is wonderful—but I want to act"

## SOUNDING OFF

Even though she is one of the world's most sought-after models, Ruby Ireland says that she wants to be more than just another pretty face. "Modeling is truly number one," says the Los Angeles-based Ireland, who has appeared three times on the cover of the women's edition of *Spice* magazine. "But I really want to act and have got a great deal of effort to that end." That means, she says, that she had to take seriously criticism that her voice was too high and too breathy for a career in film. "I could have just listened to people say that I wouldn't make it, or I could do something about it," says Ireland. "I chose to do something." She consulted a voice coach, a coach that actress has never paid off. Along with roles in movies such as National Lampoon's *Ladies First* (with Emilio Estevez) and *Steel Dawn* with Robert Patrick, Ireland is doing the voice of Crystal in the children's cartoon series *The Fairly Odd Parents*. "I think that it comes down to believing in yourself and also accepting constructive criticism," says Ireland. "Then you just solve some good old-fashioned hard work into your dreams." The voice of experience.

## LIGHTING UP THE SKY



Ireland: artistic; Brault: artistic; Brault: artistic

## BACK TO THE PARADISE

In recent years Canadian theatres have drawn big crowds by presenting imported musicals, from *Show Boat* to *Miss Saigon*. But now, there of Canada's most respected jazz musicians are turning a sheet at Canada's own history into a Broadway-style musical. Oscar Peterson, Oliver Jones and Anthony Sherwood are profiling the life and times of Rufus Rockwell, the first black man in Canada to operate a licensed tavern. Rockwell will see a premiere of the show in Toronto in September, with full production planned for 1996. It is a fitting subject for a musical. Rockwell's Montreal establishment, The Paradise Club, was Canada's hippest spot in the 1940s and 1950s, a northern version of Harlem's famed Cotton Club. The Montreal club's dancers, the Rockettes, vied with their New York City associates to be the greatest dance line on the continent. And even though Quebec promoter Maurice Duplessis tried to close the Paradise, along with every other tavern owned by blacks, Jews and Chinese, Rockwell fought back and won. "It is an exciting piece of Canadian history, rich in music, drama and humour—and, not enough Canadians know about it," says Sherwood.

## AN ACTOR'S INDISCRETION

The worst ten weeks of actor Hugh Grant in Los Angeles for allegedly having oral sex with a prostitute in his white 1970s raised one question for many of his fans: why? The 34-year-old English actor appears to have it all going for him—good looks, a successful career (including last year's surprise hit *Four Weddings and a Funeral*), and an eight-year love relationship with Elizabeth Hurley, who in *People magazine* recently called one of the world's 50 most beautiful women. In a statement issued after his arrest, Grant, who was in Hollywood to promote his latest movie, *Near Normal*, said, "I have done something completely in secret. I have had people I love and embarrassed people I work with. For both things I am more sorry than I can ever possibly say." While Grant flew back to England to try to patch things up with Hurley, the entertainment industry was rife with gossip about the alleged that the arrest would have an Grant's career and possibly Hurley's own marriage. Grant's lawyer said that Grant, a Hollywood script writer would be hard pressed to come up with a more juicy scandal.



Grant, Hurley at the Oscars; sorry

He makes his long meticulous planning the explosion of thousands at tons of fireworks. But when it comes to Patrick Brault of Montreal, you might be startled on his career "completely by accident." A former lighting technician for rock 'n' roll bands, Brault signed on as a musical laborer at the first annual Desautels & Hedges Symphony of Fire fireworks competition in Montreal in 1985—and he has since gone on to found Canada's biggest fireworks company, Concert Fuegos Inc. In recent weeks, Brault has worked his magic in front of world leaders at

Holocaust's G-7 summit, as well as before a crowd of 500,000 spectators at this year's festival in Toronto. Later this summer, he will compete at Las Grandes Fêtes Loto-Québec in Quebec City, Vancouver's Symphony of Fire and in Moscow. Although he considers his work "has the potential to be very dangerous," Brault, 28, says the key is "to conduct respect for your product with a determination in that you do it." Adds Brault: "I am not just for people in the air, but for an artistic expression of rhythm and emotion."

Edited by BARBARA MCKENRY

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Always supportive of his community, Bryan received the United Way's Gold Award for the last three years in a row. In 1988, he was named "Businessman of the Year" by the local Chamber of Commerce.

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What Matters in Canada

# Teenage wasteland

Two boys foundering en route to manhood

There isn't a cause for cheer just—those early teen years of 14 and 15 when a boy's voice drops, he grows two shoe sizes every six months and he begins to see and judge the world through two eyes. "An adolescent" is how Frank Bascombe, the owner of Richard Ford's latest novel, *Independence Day*, describes his 15-year-old son, Paul. Chappie, the plain-speaking and controlling 16-year-old narrator of Bascombe's *Run*, doesn't have a word for his stage of life, and he doesn't have a wily father to point one for him. Chappie doesn't have a father at all.



Paul: a pessimistic, self-destructive kid who tortures animals

That is just one of the contrasts between these very different new works of American fiction. The stories of two white teen-boys, the kind one might see hanging out at a mall on a school-day Thursday, hardly resemble the rest and growing divide between rich and poor, haves and have-nots. *Independence Day*, the sequel to Ford's much-praised *The Sportswriter* (1988), finds Frank Bascombe, a divorced, 44-year-old literary-discovery writer and sports journalist, selling real estate in a posh New Jersey town. It's the Fourth of July weekend in 1988, and Bascombe is coming from what he says is his "Ecclesius Pond," a kind of an afterlife crisis, a time of uncertain desire and lost love and regret, when trading water is the most that can be hoped for.

It is so, then, a troubled, pudgy rich kid living with his mother and stepfather in a mansion in Connecticut, who seems to be drowning. Based on shopping three hours of extra-long tapes, Paul has his hair cut "in some new, dopey, short-sided, brushed-up way" and sports a t-shirt that says "meat" on the inside of his right wrist. "In the next century," Paul tells his father, "we're all going to be enslaved by the insects that survived this century's pesticides. With this I acknowledge being in a land of maladapted creatures whose time is coming to a close."

Driving up to spend the Independence Day weekend with the knee-bell and baseball-balls-of-fame with his son, Bas-

combe tells himself that at least Paul does not suffer from what he calls "the big three," he does not play with fire, not his bed or tartan jumpsuits. But Bascombe finds a cleaved ball at the gate of Paul's neighbor's mansion and knows instantly that it is his son's handiwork. Paul does torture animals.

Paul also reads *The*

*New Yorker*, looks like a dog from time to time, and asks his father questions such as, "Do you think I'm a slave?"

When Paul steals one of his stepfather's Mercedes and crashes it, no charges are brought. The accident is brushed up, misinterpreted and Paul has authored the pain of a brother's death and his parents' subsequent divorce. But despite his strong self-destructive streak, Paul has second chances in life and is loved by his mother and father.



Bascombe: a father's grief odyssey

In Russell Banks's *Rule of the Bone*, 18-year-old Chappie, like Paul, has an attention problem; he's a Mohawk cut. He also has a proven talent and vice: Chappie shoplifts useless goods, too—in his case, "a shiny green nightgown" from a big-name store. In the course of the novel, Chappie gets a tattoo on the inside of his left forearm, like getting his tattoo—a punk's crossed bones without the skull—is not an erotic talismanic gesture like Paul's. It is a way of remembering the innocence of his childhood: the time when his grandmother read *How Blue Is the Sea*, and of constructing his new identity as "the Bone," as he comes to call himself.

Chappie, or Bone, doesn't get second or third chances in life, or much in the way of love. He is abandoned as a baby by his father, he lives in a trailer with his mother and stepfather, Ken, "basically a Nook with a dealing problem plus a few others." He lives there, that is, until he is kicked out of the trailer for stealing his mother's rare coin collection.

Homeless and suffering, he says, "I was 'fucked' long self-esteem." Chappie sets out into the world with nothing but his wits, much as Mark Twain's Huckleberry Finn did a century ago. There is, in fact, more than a passing resemblance between Huck Finn and Chappie. Both are men being led away from society—in the woods along the Mississippi in *Rule of the Bone*, it is a field behind an upstate New York city mall in Chappie's—and both stories are told in a simple, stinging first-person prose. Chappie and Huck are similarly attracted by their (step)mothers, although Chappie's attraction is sexual. Both encounter a black man who imparts wisdom about the world: the slave Jim in Huck's case, a Rastafarian named M-M in Chappie's.

And both go missing and are presumed dead, although Huck takes his own murder to find his father, while Chappie escapes a fire and only returns he is presumed dead when he wakes the next morning.

But the biggest divergence is one of tone. In both *Huckleberry Finn* and *Rule of the Bone*, a spate is burned in a candle's flame, but Banks takes a radically different approach. From Huck's point of view, he is a white boy, and incidentally innocent in the spe-

der, he says, "I didn't need anyone to tell me that that was an awful bad sign and would fetch me some bad luck, so I was scared and most shook the statue off at me." Chappie, on the other hand, is worried an innocent and says, "I was almost crying then. I'd done it. I'd moved the candle under the spider on purpose. It was my luck."

It is impossible to say if Banks is deliberately echoing Twain—it seems likely—but Banks's ironic, sophisticated response to the spider in a world apart from Chappie's drug-addled nihilism. For all its universal edge, Twain's novel is set in a stable, small town society with families intact. Huck, the bottom dog, was the exception. Chappie, for Banks, is the rule. Alone in the world, Huck and Chappie are trying to create their own sense of morality. But Banks's journey is a tale of American innocence. Chappie's wanderings are demented, often grim—the trials of experience.

In one of Twain's earlier works, *The Innocent Abroad* (1902), a character says, "In my lifetime something terrible happened that took our children more than I don't know if it was the Mexican War, or the second colonization of kids by industry, or drugs, or TV, or divorce, or what the hell it was. I don't know which are causes and which are effects, but the children are lost, that I know." In a postmodern, postmodern, postmodern culture, that is the sentiment that underlies Banks's *Rule of the Bone* and Ford's *Independence Day*.

Still, despite the superficial similarities, there is an enormous gap between Paul's and Chappie's lives. Middle-class Paul turns himself to get his divorced parents' attention: rejected by his family, Chappie seriously oversteers, then nearly commits suicide. When Paul steals a car he is protected; Chappie, who steals a pickup truck, would be sent to one of the best camps popular with politicians these days to have the spirit beaten out of him if he were caught.

Taken together, *Independence Day*—cracking wide against any understanding of what it looks for when housing a loser to the way of self-respect for divorced spouses who still love each other—is one of the year's best novels. *Rule of the Bone* is a work of great humanity and empathy, and Chappie is a character who still may stand before in the memory. But the novel still presents problems. In the final third of the story, Chappie travels to Jamaica with M-M, his Rastafarian mentor. Banks used the juxtaposition of the Caribbean and northeastern United States in *Continental Drift* (1985) to brilliant effect by connecting the lines of a white-pinkish-white American man and an illiterate Haitian woman. In *Rule of the Bone*, even though Banks obviously knows Jamaica and its customs, the connection feels forced and M-M's gaudy exterior curdles an unlikely solution to Chappie's lost self-esteem.

Taken together, *Independence Day* and *Rule of the Bone* prove that growing up in America is not getting any easier.

GUY LAWSON

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# East Coast classicism



Bawtree:  
"everything has  
come together"

Bar chested landlagers dragged robes through a mound of dirt where the first lawn will soon be planted inside, a chair for marshals hauled, waiting to begin his inspection, box office attendants scrambled to correct a misprint on a subscriber's tickets and a maintenance man scurried ready for the last key to the theatre's only new just another day of chaos, paint—and exhibition—at the Atlantic Theatre Festival.

## Wolfville, N.S., remakes itself as a major stage centre

Nothing helps launch theatre like success. And no less an expert than acclaimed Canadian classical actor Christopher Plummer made the new theatre—with its thrust stage jutting out into the audience as in the days at Shakespeare—"the most beautiful in his land there is." Tuesday's Globe and Mail called the festival's curtain-raiser,

Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, "delicious and powerful" while *Habitus's Daily News* noted that a production of Georges Feydeau's farce *A Kiss in the Rue Rive* was "sardonically funny." The public version is impressive, as well as far: the festival has sold 15,000 tickets out of a season total of 43,000. Gambled Michael Bawtree, the festival's artistic director and a proud parent. "It is unbelievable how everything has come together."

Wolfville's achievement is particularly impressive considering the painful birth of the country's premier classical festival in Stratford, Ont. Now the great old man of Canadian summer theatre, Stratford spent its first years in the early 1950s operating under a trust and finding all public skepticism in Wolfville, a gorgeous university town of 3,000 in the province's verdant Annapolis Valley, has been far more welcoming. From the moment that Bawtree and some friends sat around a kitchen table in 1980 and hatched a plan to create a local theatre festival that could meet international standards, the drama has proven contagious. The province, under a municipal infrastructure program, doled out \$2.5 million for construction costs. Acadia University, the town's biggest employer,

donated the rotting, vacant risk for a taken \$1 a year. The corporations—including the Bank of Montreal and Nova Scotia Power Inc.—helped with the \$1.6-million operating budget, of which \$300,000 is expected to come from ticket sales. And dozens of townspeople got into the act volunteering as ushers. "We are all excited by Michael's vision," says Greta Phillips, mayor of the town, which gave the festival \$93,000 worth of new awnings.

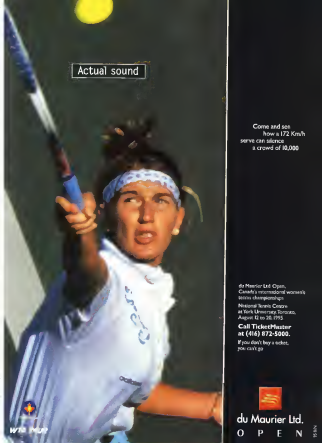
Bawtree's aspiration has lured some of the world's greatest theatrical names to small-town Nova Scotia to join the solid professionals and untamed talents who make up the company. British actor Michael Langham, for 12 years artistic director of the Stratford Festival and more recently artistic director at the Guthrie Theatre in Minneapolis, Minn., is directing *The Tempest* as well as Chekhov's *The Cherry Orchard*, which opens on July 28. *The Tempest* is Peter Donat, one of the continent's finest classical actors, who was born in Kootenai, just 20 km from Wolfville where he attended university. "There was no hesitation," says Donat, 61, now based in San Francisco, explaining his reaction when Bawtree asked him to join the cast. "Who would not go far in an adventure like this?"

Plummer, who ran into Bawtree last summer while filming the Hollywood adaptation of the Stephen King novel *Dolores Claiborne* at Nova Scotia's south shore, echoes that sentiment. So far, the actor's involvement has been limited to a benefit performance of his anti-race stage show *A Word or Two Before You Go*, at the festival last October and visiting the aims of friends in the theatre community for financial support. But Plummer, who is now waiting on his autobiography, says he dearly wants to spend a season acting or even directing at the Atlantic festival. "It has so many more advantages than Stratford did starting out," says the Toronto-born actor, 65. "This is a fully developed. I've never seen a community respond to a festival like this."

It nevertheless remains a struggle. To break even during the longest season, the festival needs to sell 11,000 more tickets and raise another \$200,000 in private donations—a major challenge for a new, untested theatre. Last week, however, Bawtree and his band of dreamers were flustered with excitement and noble purpose—and confident that their offspring faces a golden future. Said actor Bill Carr, 40, a native Nova Scotian who was running creatively workshops when Bawtree convinced him to join the troupe. "We can all feel it—it's in the heart of something special."

JOHN DUMONT in Halifax

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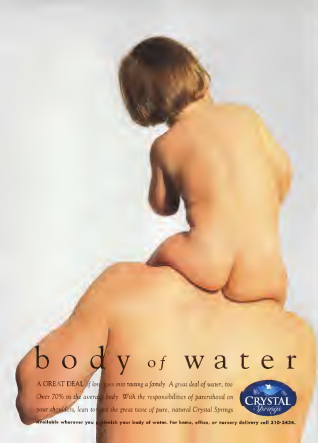
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# Bring on the Cavalcade

The Shaw Festival revives a pageant

It is Nov. 13, 1918, and the news that the Great War has ended has just reached London. A swelling crowd of celebrants has invaded Trafalgar Square, creating a hooch of cheering, hugging and dancing. From somewhere, triumphal music sears into the atmosphere. In the midst of the chaos, women, attended by others, in stately and decorously screaming. It all looks like a scene from a Hollywood epic, or perhaps from some Andrew Lloyd Webber musical. But in fact it is part of a stage play. Neil Coward's *Cavalcade*, is a rare production by the Shaw Festival in Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ont., a two-hour drive south of Toronto. The logistics of staging *Cavalcade* are no dancing—there are several scenes on the Trafalgar Square scale—but the work has been produced only twice since its 1931 London premiere. The festival was responsible for one of those revivals, which ran in both 1985 and 1986. It proved so popular that Shaw artistic director Christopher Newton has decided not only to bring the show back but, in a major strategic shift, to keep it in repertory so that the money-maker can be easily revived in future seasons. "We should have done this with *Phenix* Fox, *Upstairs Downstairs* and *My Darling Clementine* as well," Newton says, referring to beloved hits of the past decade. "Opera companies have been keeping shows in repertory for ages. Why shouldn't we?"

In the past, the festival has combined its shows in series in their runs are over, outstanding issues and updating wardrobes for use in other productions. By keeping them intact (a practice once followed by many 19th-century theatre companies), Newton can hold remounting costs down and ensure a certain degree of financial stability for a few seasons. That is crucial in a festival that has suffered losses in recent years, and is currently struggling with an accumulated debt of just over \$800,000. Still, Newton is not completely sure the idea will work. "I don't know if it's money to the bank," he says. "It should be, but we're playing with the tones of real live people who change—as you never know."

So far, the public has reacted well to Newton's experiment. *Cavalcade*'s July 8 to Oct. 25 run is already 90 percent sold out—an excep-



Reid (left), George Hanson, Mary Murray, shooting

tional figure in an industry where a sale of 50 percent by opening night is considered excellent. Audience members who saw the 1985-1986 version will find the new production quite similar. Both were directed by Newton. As well, the 1986 version cast includes 15-year-old from the earlier staging. From Reid has returned to star as Jane Murray, the upper-class woman who makes her first appearance as a young mother in 1899 and by the end of the play in 1930 has endured the worst the century can throw at her. As an icon woman a decade ago, Newton has chosen to mount the sprawling story of Murray, her family and their servants in a revolving stage, which allows scenes to follow each other with extraordinary rapidity. In one typical transition, an intimate bedroom scene is replaced by a warty outdoor scene in Battersea Park. Presumably directed entirely in black, more accurately behind a scrim, the three mourning the death of Queen Victoria in 1901.

The accumulated effect of such scenes are

also a moving scene of the great river of British national life—with which many Canadians have had intimate connections. The production ends on a rather elaborate note as Jane Murray and her husband, Robert (Andrew Gillen), sit down to a nightcap filled with noisy, paled couples. The climax comes as the patron whirls on the revolving stage, while singing Beethoven's *Ode to Joy*. It is a strangely ambiguous moment, since the celebratory music—a touch added by Newton—also foreshadows the German conquest of Europe in the Second World War.

By contrast, the 2001 premiere of *Cavalcade* ended with the grandiose staging of *God Save the King*. As well, Coward used elements rather than a turntable to move scenes into place. He also employed a total of 400 actors, including an entire regiment of guards for the war scenes. Still, Newton's use of 46 performers is impressive by contemporary standards. (The hit musical *Les Misérables* has a cast of 31.) And many of Newton's actors play a variety of parts. With an shifting cast and backdrop, the show requires 300 costumes—compared to a total of 250 for the 30 shows on the bill last year. The Shaw Festival's head of wardrobe, Sharon Secord, and her staff of 30 made many of the outfits home worth as much as \$2,000, taking materials and labor into account, while others were borrowed or rented from other theatres. Staging there is a logistical nightmare. Every backstage cook and crony is hung with *Cavalcade* costumes, and when the play is in performance, the area swarms with bodies as actors divest themselves of

clothes and undergo the constant stream of actors moving in and out of the stage.

Meanwhile, seven stage crew members work constantly throughout the show, moving heavy scenery into place on the revolving wheel. Besides assisting the crash of actors, they have to work in complete silence with extraordinary speed and accuracy. "There's a whole other world going on back there," says technical head Ivan Habel, explaining that the crew has to undergo an especially rigorous rehearsal process in which they learn to coordinate their efforts.

Although it is impossible to calculate *Cavalcade*'s exact cost—most of the people in the production are employed in other festival shows as well—the sheer size of the enterprise makes it an acrobatic financial feat. If it pays off, other Canadian companies might follow the Shaw's lead: the days of repertory theatre could well be in for a revival.

JOHN DEBROCK





# Preston Manning's not-so-capital idea

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

There is a sadness in Canadian politics. Sadness not only because of Quebec's never-ending schizophrenia towards the rest of the country. Sadness not only because there is only one national party, the Liberals, ruling easily and arrogantly while being faced only by two ramping parties from the regions.

Which allows the Torys in Jean Chretien to come out, threatening not to sign the nomination papers of any Liberal back-bencher so bold as to vote against the government on an issue, as a matter of principle.

The real sadness is in watching Preston Manning, his opening years in Parliament not a success, reaching backwards in time and thinking to push for the reestablishment of capital punishment. Doing back the wrong. A great rallying cry for a party that was going to be the Irish Britain in Ottawa.

The last execution in Canada took place in 1962 when two men were hanged together in Toronto's Don Jail. There will never be another execution in this country. Any one serious knows that. The (pending) to the revenge justice demands both Manning and his party, which was going to "reform" our system.

The best answer to any advocate of capital punishment is given by Jack Webster, the celebrated West Coast broadcaster who has worked from his Glaswegian accident scene to being a rightwinger on most news. "I can cure anyone who lacks language," he says. "Just let them witness one of them." As in a recent crime reporter, did.

The same view was held by John Diefenbaker, the hard-core defence lawyer who was grieved in many murder trials. He was prime minister when there was in the Don Jail hanging from ropes, and he would never hang again. Every person master since, from Preston to Trudeau to Clark to Turner to Mulroney and on, agreed with him.

Manning, of course, is hoping to capitalise on the public revulsion over the details of the Paul Bernardo trial (which thanks to a circum-

cluding the most abhorrent of human beings, but a right to life, and capital punishment is therefore unconstitutional.

Each of the court's 13 judges issued a written opinion backing the decision. The Constitutional Court was established earlier this year as an equal—as is the much-admired American system—to the executive and legislative branches. The number of prisoners on death row totalled 643 in the 2000s, more than 1,100 South Africans were executed. President Nelson Mandela, with his usual dignity, declared himself. In 1994, faced with the reality of conscience to overthrow the government, he faced the death penalty. A graduate lawyer, acting as his own defence, he delivered an eloquent three-hour summation to the court stating he did not accept an apartheid government's jurisdiction over a black man. He was sentenced, in the end, to life imprisonment. As we know, he served a mere 27 years.

And so South Africa, which was driven into world purgatory by a Commonwealth boycott, led by the wiser John Diefenbaker, quickly shifted to confusion and the Reform party wants to take us back there.

There is so much Manning and his income have to do to build their voters' faith in them. By attacking Central Canada and basically destroying the Conservative party in 1993, they promised to be the hope of the future.

First, naturally, they have to prove they are a true national party, moving out from their C/M heartland. They have to establish roots in Quebec, as Brian Mulroney's party grew to the Tories as their only chance of making it to Ottawa. It alone? Initial they reject the politics of revenge. Paul Bernardo's

to the politics of revenge. Paul Bernardo's touchstone, the more their enemies. How backward. Mulroney, who sadly, now is in the house of the backdoor in 2007, not allowed yet another Commons vote on public murder and—reaching Edmund Burke—reminded MPs that their duty was not just to listen to their constituents but "the most demanding constituency of all, our own consciences."

Living as a leader should, he said, "It is wrong to take life, and I can think of no circumstance except self-defence to justify it." The vote, common sense prevailing once again, failed.

Canada in 1976 abolished the death penalty. Finally, in 1985, by South Africa and Preston Manning, the abolition is his political legacy and it is to appeal to the better side of the human mind.

How sad. Think again, no.



tion war among three of Toronto's four newspapers, has taught ordinary adults—and children—more about sexual offences than anything involving the Internet.)  
"Can it be the new politics? The fresh start from the cubed-free Politics who was going to lead voters to a new vision? Fresh ideas, fresh politics? Instead, there is the cynical reaching for the dark side of our souls."

There is a lesson for Manning ahead. Until last month, the three "advanced" nations with the highest execution rate in the world were three disbarred (or different reasons) societies: the former Soviet Union, South Africa and the United States.

On June 6, South Africa's newly created Constitutional Court—as its first major decision—abolished the death penalty. Arthur Chaskalson, president of the Constitutional Court, said in the decision: "Overview, it



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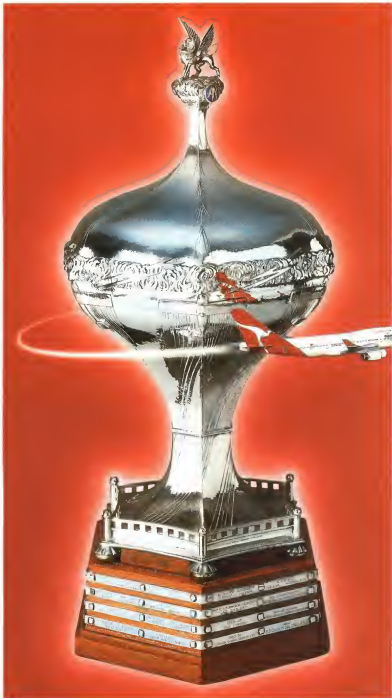
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